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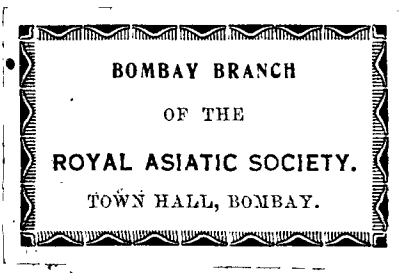


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THE

# NATIVE RACES

OF

# THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

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BY

R. G. LATHAM, M.D., F.R.S., &c.,

AUTHOR OF "THE VARIETIES OF MAN," "THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE," "THE GERMANIA OF TACITUS WITH ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES," ETC.

WITH A LARGE COLOURED MAP,

*Taken from that of the Imperial Geographical Society of St. Petersburg,*

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# NOTICE.

THE small amount of real knowledge possessed by foreigners of the many various races which make up the population of Russia, combined with the interest universally felt at this moment in everything relating to that extensive Empire, has induced us to bring forward a descriptive account of the tribes occupying its surface, including all those nations who have been conquered by the dominant race, or absorbed into its body. This is accompanied by, and in some degree founded upon, the great Ethnological and Statistical Map of Russia which was published by the Imperial Geographical Society of St. Petersburg in the year 1852.

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# THE UGRIAN, TURK, AND SARMATIAN STOCKS.

## CHAPTER I.

### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE THREE CHIEF CONSTITUENT STOCKS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, THE UGRIAN, THE TURK, THE SARMATIAN—OBSERVATIONS ON THE TERMS—GEOGRAPHICAL RELATIONS OF THE UGRIANS—DIRECTION OF MOVEMENTS—DIMENSIONS OF THE UGRIAN STOCK—RECOGNITION OF THE SAMOYEDS AS UGRIAN—OF THE YENISEIANS AND YUKAHIRI—CONSPECTUS OF THE THREE STOCKS.

THE ethnology of the Russian Empire is, for ninety-nine parts out of a hundred, the ethnology of three families, stocks, or varieties, call them which we will; of three vast families—neither more nor less. And none of these are the families which have played the important parts in the history of the West and South; none are Latin or Greek, like the great intellectual and conquering nations of antiquity; none are Keltic, like the older populations

of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland; none are German, like the Dutch of Holland, and the Anglo-Saxons of England and America. None have spread themselves to any great extent in any of the countries west of the Rhine; indeed, in some cases the Elbe may have been their limit. On the other hand, the most eastern of them touch the frontiers of China, and stretch beyond them.

Thus vast is the area covered by the three great stocks of (1) the Ugrians, (2) the Turks, and (3) the Sarmatians.

UGRIAN, TURK, and SARMATIAN—such is the nomenclature of the Ethnologist. It is not exactly that of the ordinary geographer, nor yet that of the civil historian. Nevertheless, it can not only be defended, but it can be shewn to be necessary. It is necessary on the same principle that certain comprehensive terms are necessary in zoology and botany. The names for the species are insufficient. There are genera, subgenera, and orders; and names are wanted for them accordingly. They are not always easy to hit upon, nor yet are they always adopted with unanimity. It is rare, too, that they are absolutely unexceptionable, either in the way of correctness or convenience. Thus, in the previous list, the word Turk involves something to learn and something to unlearn. It means, of course, the Turks of Turkey in the limited and ordinary sense of the word; but it also means a vast number of populations besides; populations closely and clearly allied to them. It means the Kirghiz of Independent Tartary, it means the Tartars of Kazan and Tobolsk, it means a tribe as distant from Constantinople as that of the Yakuts on the Arctic Sea, at the mouth of the River Lena. It is, in short, a generic name. Many have sug-

gested a remedy to the inconvenience arising from its being a specific name as well; and have used the term Tartar instead. Yet this word is exceptionable also. Many of the so-called Tartar tribes are Mongolian, and, consequently, as different from the Turks as a Kalmuk is from an Osmanli—a Kalmuk of the steppes of Astrakhan from an Osmanli of Constantinople. Then, in the eyes of a Chinese, the Mantshus are Tartars, and the Mantshu dynasty, against which the present Chinese revolution is at work, is a Tartar dynasty, as opposed to a native Chinese one. And even here, the name is inconvenient, inasmuch as before the conquest by the Mantshus there was a Mongolian conquest—which was Tartar also. Yet the Mongolians and Mantshus require to be distinguished from each other.

From China let us turn to India. When enterprising men like Lloyd, and Gerard, and Strachey, and Hooker, and those other observers who have laboured so successfully at the elucidation of the geography of the vast Himalayan range, have got so far northwards and upwards as to have left the Indian populations behind them, and to have come upon the tribes of Tibet, they designate them as Tartars—Tartars as opposed to the Hindus. So that, laxly speaking, a Turk may be Tartar, a Mongolian a Tartar, a Mantshu a Tartar, and a Tibetan a Tartar.

This makes it necessary for the Ethnologist to eschew the term as much as possible. He must, however, use it occasionally: *e. g.*, if he deal with the history and geography of China he must, to a certain extent, speak after the fashion of his authorities, and use the Chinese nomen-

clature. In Russia, too, it is hard to escape the term altogether, since the Russian calls all the Turks, both of his domain and his neighbourhood, Tartars, when speaking of the Tartars of the Crimea, the Tartars of Kazan, the Tartars of Independent Tartary. At the same time he restricts the word to the tribes of Turk origin ; and does not, like the Chinese, apply it to any Mongolians. The Mongolians he calls Kalmuks. A Chinese would call them Tartars.

This term will be noticed again, and a convenient application of it be suggested. The present observations have one end only; *viz.*, the explanation of the power of the word *Turk*. Its import is very general. It means all the populations akin to the Turks of Europe; the Turks of Europe being only a single branch of a vast stock. But how are we to avoid ambiguity? The Turks in Europe must have a name; and if the specific term be identical with the generic, there will be confusion. Be it so. For the purposes of ethnology it is best to use the names *Ottoman* or *Osmanli*, when we write about the Turks of Constantinople. Constantinople is the metropolis of Rumelia, and the Constantinopolitan Mahometans are the Osmanli of Rumelia. A European Turk, then, is an Osmanli. A Turk of Asia Minor is an Osmanli—an Osmanli of Anatolia. The Turks that we are defending against Russia are the Osmanli of the Ottoman Empire—the mass, at least, are Osmanli. Between the forms *Osmanli* and *Ottoman* there is but little difference. Each comes from the name Othman, the founder of the dynasty.

The terms suggested, although it has been considered

that they require explanation, are by no means so new as they appear at first sight. Common parlance uses the word Turk pretty widely. Besides the three Turkeys—in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa—of the maps, we have, on the northern frontier of Persia, the country of the *Turk*-o-mans, or *Turk*-estan; so that common parlance gives us Turks in the very interior of Asia.

Then there are reasons against such a name as *Sarmatian*. It occasionally confounds the classical geographer. Ugrian too, is a new word—new, or nearly so—new in England. Nevertheless, the two large and valuable volumes of Müller upon the populations akin to the Finlanders are upon the "*Ugrian Stock*" (*Ugrische Volks stamm*). So that, upon the whole, the nomenclature is justifiable: at any rate, it is no easy matter to improve it. Hence the three important terms are (1) Ugrian, (2) Turk, (3) Sarmatian.

The ethnology of the Russian Empire is the ethnology of these three stocks, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, at least. Other families have played *some* part in it, but only a subordinate one. The ethnology of Russia is Ugrian, Turk, and Sarmatian—Sarmatian, Turk, and Ugrian.

How far is the converse the case? How far is the area of these three families contained within the limits of Russia? Have they always and only fought, fled, conquered, migrated within the Russian boundaries? Or have they occupied other parts of the world? To this we answer, that they have each and all a history besides their history as Russians, or parts of Russia; and each in his degree—that of the Ugrians being the least important.

Of this we shall find the illustration in the sequel. Our present business is to give their due prominence to the three names.

*Ugrian* means populations akin to the present inhabitants of Finland, wheresoever they may be found; the chief characters being their language. Hence it is the name for the class that contains the Fin and its allied languages, and the men that speak such languages.

A few years back, but little was known about these tongues. They were, for the most part, unwritten, and, as such, considered barbarous. The few writers that studied them, studied them singly; *i. e.*, the language of Finland by itself, the language of Lapland by itself also. This retarded the general diffusion of the knowledge of their mutual affinities and of their relationships to each other, as members of one large class. It retarded the diffusion of any general information on the subject, but the more important facts were by no means uninvestigated. When Gibbon engaged in the ethnology of the Majiar conquerors of Hungary, he found that Fin scholars had already applied themselves to the problem of their language, and that Ganander and Gyarmathi had detected undoubted affinities with the Laplandish. He hesitated at adopting their results; and, considering the comparative philology of the time, he did right. Yet he notified the researches.

These were the first steps by which the Ugrian tongues were brought under notice. Then came the notice of the peculiarities of their structure. There were, for instance, some fifteen cases in the Finlandish noun—a fact that interested such classical scholars as knew of it. But these

were not very numerous. Hence, the full value of the class became apparent only when the populations of Siberia and central Asia—the tribes of the Volga, the Petshora, the Obi, and the Yenisey—got noticed.

At the present moment there are Fin scholars, and Lap philologists, just as there are men learned in Arabic or Sanscrit.

As to the word *Ugrian* itself, its *immediate* origin is Russian; and the populations to which it applies, *generally*, know nothing about it as a native name; just as the Barbarians of the Greeks and Romans, knew no such name as *Barbarus* (or Βάρβαρος)—just, too, as such names as Negro and Red Indian are strange to the Blacks of Africa and the aborigines of America. *Ugrian*, in short, is a word all but foreign to the Ugrians themselves. I imagine it means *borderer;* being just such a term in Slavonic as *Marchman* is in German. It means a population on some Slavonic frontier.

From this it has grown to mean certain *non*-slavonic populations. It comes from the root *-k-r*, a boundary; a root which lies at the bottom of the words *Ukraine, Carin*-thia, *Carn*-iola, the Alpes *Carn*-iæ, the syllables *Ucker-* in the word *Ucker*-mark, the name of the old *Wagr*-ians of Holstein, and (not impossibly) in the words *Hun, Hung*-ary, and (even) *Finn*. The justification of these latter etymologies will be given in the sequel. A notice, too, of a difficulty in respect to the doctrine of its *exclusively* Slavonic origin will be taken when we come to the sketch of the Siranians.

The portion of the Ugrian history and Ugrian ethno-

logy, which is not included in the history and ethnology of the Russian Empire, is small. I repeat the statement, for the sake of indicating its nature and extent. *Two* sections of the Ugrian stock—two sections, and no more—are at the present moment located beyond the domain of the Czar; two sections of very different degrees of social and political importance, but two sections which, nevertheless, are undeniably reducible to the same class. The first of these is the Lap population of Sweden and Norway; the second that of the Majiars of Hungary—one Scandinavian, the other Austrian; one rude, the other civilized; one undersized, the other wellgrown; one insignificant, the other an object of interest and importance to the historian—both Ugrian, nevertheless; both Ugrian, though many of the Majiars ignore the relationship, or are ashamed of it.

The Ugrian stock was, and is, the central stock of the three; its original position being between that of the Turk and the Sarmatian. Of these the former lay on its eastern, the latter on its western side—west by south-west. And each pressed forwards from its own proper area, and in its own definite direction—the Turk from east to west, the Sarmatian from west to east. So that the Ugrians were like the iron between the hammer and the anvil. As the lateral stocks intruded and encroached, the central stock yielded and retired—sometimes wholly, sometimes partially; sometimes to be extinguished altogether; sometimes to amalgamate in the way of intermixture; sometimes to protract an existence in disrupted and isolated fragments. And then come the ways in which this separate existence shews itself—sometimes it is in the lan-

guage; sometimes the physiognomy; sometimes the superstitions. So that the evidence of an Ugrian occupancy varies, and the criteria of Ugrian blood are uncertain.

However, such was the original situs. The Ugrian in the centre; the Sarmatians and the Turks on the side—pressures lateral, converging in the direction of the Ugrians. But this is not all. The original situs of the Turks and Sarmatians, although east and west in respect to the Ugrians, was not absolutely so. Ugria lay in the north as well as in the centre. This gives the movement that effected the chief displacements a complex character. They were from south to north, as well as from east to west. No division of the Turk stock, no division of the Sarmatian, originally lay within the Arctic Circle, however much they may have moved northwards in after-times. The Ugrians, on the contrary, are eminently Circum-polar; so that if we look to their older occupancies we shall find that they form the fringe to the Arctic Ocean along the whole (or nearly the whole) coast of Asia and Europe; playing the same part as the Eskimo do in America. Indeed, in some respects, the Laps and Samoyeds may be called the Eskimo of the Old World just as the Eskimo are the Laps and Samoyeds of the New.

At the same time we must guard against making the Ugrians, too, exclusively Northrons. Some of them lie as far south as the latitude of London—the Majiars further south still. But, as the Majiars are only immigrants into their present occupancies they are not looked upon as representatives of the original distribution. I will continue these preliminaries by giving what I believe to have been the geographical distribution of the three

stocks—say B. C. 1000, 2000, or 3000; *i. e.*, during some undetermined portion of the pre-historic period.

1. There were Sarmatians in Lithuania, Volhynia, Gallicia, and Transylvania, these being (for the parts north of the Danube) their most eastern localities.

2. There were Turks in Independent Tartary, this being their most western locality.

3. The whole intervening portion, surmounted on the north as far as the Arctic Sea by allied populations, was Ugrian—the Volga being Ugrian, the Dnieper being Ugrian, the most Russian parts of modern Russia being Ugrian. So that the Muscovites or Russians are a new and intrusive population—*i. e.*, comparatively new. In certain localities they may have been occupants 3,000 years; in some less than 300; in some not 30. They are the spreading and the encroaching population. They began to be so early; though no earlier, perchance, than did the Turks. Whoever, however, it may have been who encroached the most, it was the Ugrians who were the most encroached upon. The Ugrians it was who were broken up betimes, and the Ugrians it is who, at the present period, are found in some of their original localities—nowhere. In some they occur as isolated patches of population; islands, so to say, in a Russian and Turkish sea. In others they preponderate.

It is not difficult to determine beforehand the different Ugrian localities. In the south and west they are likely to be the scarcest; nay, they are likely to be non-existent. How should it be otherwise? The south and west are the parts nearest the original Sarmatians; the areas whereon the encroachment first began; the starting points

for the displacement. Just what happened in England happened in Russia. In England the Welsh elements are at their minimum in the eastern counties; indeed, in such regions as Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, &c., they have long disappeared to all eyes but those of the minute ethnologist, who, with care and pains, just finds traces of them in the local dialects, local names, local superstitions. In Devonshire and Herefordshire they become clearer. In Cornwall they existed almost within the memory of man. In the Principality they live still, and are likely to live longer. However, in England there are no isolated patches of Welshmen; no central mountain, no impenetrable wood, no impracticable swamp, that preserves the remnants of an earlier population whilst all around has changed. Yet there were such patches once. When Cheshire and South Lancashire were English, Cumberland was Welsh: so that in this case there was an analogue of what we find amongst the Ugrians of Russia. Had Robin Hood and the outlaws of Sherwood Forest—had Hereward and the heroes of the fens—been the descendants and representatives of the Ancient Britons, the parallel would have been closer still. However, it is close enough to say that the Ugrians are to Russia what the Kelts are to Great Britain and France.

The dimensions of the Ugrian class were always large, but, of late years, they have become larger. This is because certain uninvestigated populations, whereof the ethnological position was uncertain, have since been claimed as Ugrian—and that upon reasonable grounds. Hence we have the word with its older, and the word with its newer, signification; the class with its earlier,

and the class with its later, dimensions; the stock as it was when Müller wrote his work on the *Ugrische Folkstamme*, and the class as it has been left by Castren and other Fin inquirers.

The Ugrian area always spread as far southwards as the Lower Volga, even into the Governments of Saratov, Simbirsk, and Tambov.

Then there are the Laps of Norwegian Finmark, at the very northern extremity of Europe, the Laps of the North Cape. These occupy the coast both eastwards and westwards—in the direction of Bergen and in the direction of Archangel. They dip, too, inland. The western side of the White Sea is *Russian* Lapland. The northern part of Sweden is *Swedish* Lapland. Finmark is *Norwegian* Lapland. But the White Sea makes a break, and where the White Sea begins Lapland ends. On the other side of Archangel lies the country of the Samoyeds. Now, it is only lately that the Samoyeds have been deemed Ugrian. Hence, they belong to the class in its modified form—with its extended import. But there are other populations in the same category with the Samoyeds; populations unclassed, or only classed provisionally. These carry us far eastward; far eastward beyond the Yenisey; beyond the river which, to the Ugrians of the earlier classification, was the eastern limit. There it was where the Ostiak branch was found in its furthest locality; succeeded, eastward, by the Yeniseians. The Yeniseians were so called for want of a better name, and because they lived on the river Yenisey. But the Yeniseians and Samoyeds are in the same category; so that what makes the Samoyed Ugrian, makes the Yeniseian Ugrian also.

Then there come a family not only beyond the Yenisey, but beyond the Lena—beyond the Lena, and on the Kolyma, Yana, and Indijerka—a family that carries the Ugrians well-nigh up to Behring's Straits, bringing them almost in contact with the Eskimo. This is the family of the Yukahiri—Ugrian because the Yeniseian is Ugrian, just as the Yeniseian was what the Samoyed was found to be. Here, in the parts near Behring's Straits, lies the eastern-most boundary of the tribes allied to the Finlanders and Laplanders of Europe.

The original boundary (as aforesaid) was the Yenisey—the original boundary on the east.

That on the west has yet to be considered.

The west must be divided into the north-west and the south-west; the difference between the two lying in the fact of the former limit being a matter easy of investigation, patent, and transparent, the latter being a piece of minute ethnography. This it is even now. But what is it when we make allowance for displacements and attempts to reconstruct the original Ugrian area? A harder problem still. I think, in my own mind, the original western limit lay in the Government of Minsk—so far west as that. However, this is a matter of speculation—induction, if we prefer the term. The question is, the present limit westwards. For the north, this is the westernmost point of Norwegian Lapland; for the centre, a tract in Courland; for the south, a spot in the Government of Tambov where the most western locality, of the most southern Ugrians, that of certain Mordvins, is to be found. All between this and Minsk is the *Ugria* of an extinct, an amalgamated

Ugrian population; just as all between the German Ocean and the Welsh frontier is the *Britannia* of an extinct or amalgamated family of Britons.

1. From the North Cape to the Governments of Penza and Tambov—

2. From the Indijerka to the Atlantic Ocean—

3. From the Indijerka to the Government of Tambov.

Such is the extent of the Ugrian area, in its widest sense, as it at present exists.

*d.* Instead of the *Indijerka* read *Yenisey*, and you have the area of the Ugria of Müller and the writers of the beginning of the century.

Instead of the Government of Tambov read *Minsk*, and you have the *Ugria* of the time anterior to the Turk and Sarmatian encroachments, as reconstructed by the ethnologist, upon the principles of ethnological criticism; or, changing the expression, palæontologically.

Such is the area, such the portion of the earth's surface, that is or has been Ugrian. It is a portion that, year by year, month by month, and day by day, decreases. It is an area of which the frontier recedes, I believe, in every direction—in every direction, or nearly so. At any rate, its diminution is the general rule, its increase the exception. Has this always been the case? It has been so generally. If it were not so, Russia would be Fin rather than Muscovite. History, however, supplies *some* instances to the contrary. Mr. Norris has committed himself to the doctrine that a population speaking a language with decidedly Ugrian analogies, once effected permanent settlements so far south as Persia; or (if not this) that the original area extended so much farther southwards.

The Majiar conquest of Hungary was undoubtedly Ugrian. Upon the whole, however, the Ugrians have been a population of a receding rather than an encroaching frontier.

Hence, we shall not be surprised if the *whole* of the Ugrian area be more or less broken up—if the Tungusians and Koriaks in Asia have effected displacements, and obliterated populations, just as the Turks and Sarmatians have done in Europe.

The Ugrian is a population of a receding rather than an encroaching frontier. This it is as compared with the Turks, Sarmatians, Tungusians, and Koriaks. Some parts, however, of the family are stronger and more encroaching than others; *i.e.*, some branches have extended themselves at the expense of others. The Laps, for instance, stretched further southwards in the direction of St. Petersburgh than they do now. The Fins of Finland displaced them—just as the Franks of Germany displaced, in the parts about Hanover and Oldenburg, the Angles and Frisians, who were, nevertheless, just as German as themselves.

The Ugrians are a pure rather than a mixed population; though this is a rather uncertain point, even for the nineteenth century. Upon the whole, however, they seem to intermarry amongst themselves; *e.g.*, the Esthonian and Let in Esthonia and Livonia, keep separate. The Finlanders and Swedes, however, intermarried. The more isolated populations of the Volga keep more separate than not. What, however, took place in the times of their earlier history is problematical. Did the Turk, as he encroached, connect himself with the Ugrians he encroached on? Did the Russian? If so, vast portions

of Russia may be Ugrian on the mother's side; as I think they are.

The phenomena of intermixture between the different divisions of the Ugrian family itself are neither numerous nor clear.

The chief facts are to be found in Lapland. Here there is a great deal of intermixture with the Fin of Finland; and that to the improvement of the Lap.

I now attempt to give a kind of conspectus of the chief characteristics of the three divisions in hand: also a slight notice of the *value* of each group as a *class*. To the learned ethnologist this is made clear in a few words. To the learned ethnologist it is, perhaps, unnecessary.

I venture, however, not only to presume, that, for the general reader, something of the sort is required, but also to excuse myself for making a temporary change in the arrangement. We have hitherto given precedence of notice to the Ugrians. This is because they are the oldest inhabitants of Russia; the most central also. But it is not convenient to take them first in order now. This is because they are transitional or intermediate to the other two—the Sarmatians giving one extreme, the Turks the other. Between these lie the Ugrians. Now the points of character of the intermediate group will be best understood when we have given those of the two extremes.

THE SARMATIANS.—One of the two branches into which the great stock, which we find it convenient to designate by the term *Sarmatian*, is divided, is called *Slavonic*, the other *Lithuanian*. The exact relation of these two

branches to each other has yet to be determined; perhaps it can scarcely be made out. Some writers enlarge on the points of difference; others on those of similarity.

"The Slavonic and Lithuanic are allied to each other as the Scandinavian is to the German."

"The Slavonic and Lithuanic are allied to each other as the Gaelic is to the Welsh."

"The Slavonic and Lithuanic are allied to each other as the Latin is to the Greek."

"The Slavonic and Lithuanic are as little allied to each other as the Slavonic and German, the German and Keltic, the Lithuanian and the Latin."

"The Slavonic constitutes one separate substantive division of the languages called Indo-European, and the Lithuanic, another."

Such and such like statements and similes represent the conflicting opinions on this point. Those of the present writer are decided against all the broader lines of demarcation; and he consequently subordinates both to the class termed *Sarmatian* without the least hesitation—indeed, he would bring a still more important tongue, the Sanskrit,* under the same denomination; only he thinks that in doing so he would be in too small a minority for the practical exposition of his subject. Even in the classification he proposes he is in a doubtful majority, if he be in a majority at all. The present teaching, however, whatever it may have been hitherto, sets in the direction of a "Sarmatian Stock." Schleicher (for instance) in the "Languages of Europe"† speaks of the

* For the reasoning on this point see chapter *on the original Slavonic area.*

† Die Sprachen Europas.—*Bonn*, 1850.

"Letto-Slavonic Family."* A monograph of Daae's† goes further both in the expression of the opinion of the writer, and in the proof of the soundness of his view. Other authorities could be quoted; but enough, perhaps, has been said to justify the use of the term, and to indicate the value of the class it applies to.

The Slavonic languages have been differently classed. Those, however, which exist at the present moment, as spoken and living languages are referrable to one of four central groups—(*a*) the Polish, (*b*) the Bohemian, (*c*) the Servian, and (*d*) the Russian; there being dialects and sub-dialects, and (what creates greater complications) transitional or intermediate forms besides. Taking cognizance of these latter, we get the addition of the (*e*) Lusatian, (*f*) the Slovak, and (*g*) the Bulgarian. The measure of the importance of the Slavonic tongues lies in the fact of their being spoken by not less (probably by more) than seventy-eight millions of human beings—Schaffarik's numbers being as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Poles | 9,365,000 |
| Bohemians | 7,167,000‡ |
| Lusatians | 142,000 |
| Illyrians, &c. | 7,246,000§ |
| Bulgarians | 3,587,000 |
| Russians | 51,184,000 |
| Total | 78,691,000 |

* Lettisch-Slawisches Familien-paar.

† Om den Lithauiske Folkestammes Forhold til den Slavoniske. —*Christiana*, 1851.

‡ This includes the Slovak of Hungary.

§ This includes the Servian, Croatian, Dalmatian, Montenegro, and Carinthian.

The Lithuanic, on the contrary, is spoken in its two forms—Lithuanian and Let—by only,

| | |
|---|---|
| Lithuanians ..... | 716,886 |
| Lets ..... | 872,107 |
| | 1,598,993 |

This means the Lithuanians and Lets of the Russian Empire. To these we may add a few from East Prussia. Having done this, we have the whole of the division.

The geographical relations of the Sarmatians are essentially European—the European countries of Lusatia, Bohemia, Carinthia, Carniola, Hungary, Illyria, Poland, Russia, and East Prussia being their occupancies. In none of these do we find any extreme condition of climate—as determined by either latitude or sea-level. Except in the case of the more northern Russians the Arctic circle is never approached; and it must be remembered that these northern Russians, the Russians of Archangel and Siberia, are by no means *in situ*. On the contrary, they are intruders of comparatively recent origin. The southern limit of the Sarmatians is in Macedonia, and on the Albanian frontier—Ragusa being their last town in the direction of the tropics, from which it is far removed. So that they lie wholly within the temperate zone. In respect to sea-level no Sarmatians are mountaineers in the way that the Swiss, the Tibetans, and the Peruvians are. The highest ranges they occupy are in Bohemia, Gallicia, and Montenegro. No point here exceeds 10,000 feet.

Of all the populations of Europe they have the least

amount of sea-board, in proportion to their mass; the Spaniards and Germans not excepted.

No stock has so large a portion of its area spread out in level plains—witness the wide flats of Poland, and the wider ones of Russia. The mass, then, of the Sarmatians are agricultural. Before they were this they were herdsmen—hunters, perhaps, in the forest districts. At the same time, we must guard against any undue generality. Where there are mines, the Sarmatian is a miner—as in Gallicia, Hungary, Bohemia, and Carinthia; and where there is a sea-board he is a sailor, as in Dalmatia.

So it is with their intellectual aptitudes and habits, with their creeds, and with their political ideas. They vary with the conditions of their evolution. At the same time, the extremes lie within moderate limits. There is no approach to savage life in the way of their social economy, and no manifestation of incapacity for such exercises of the intellect as present themselves. Say that the flourishing period of Polish learning gives us the development of the Sarmatian mind in its brightest phase. Say that the most unfavourable aspect is presented by the Lithuanian serf. Nevertheless, the extremes lie within a small compass; within a smaller compass than the extremes of several other large groups. Of these (for the sake of illustration) take the one which contains the populations whose languages are derived from the Latin, and compare the Sardinian mountaineer, or the Wallachian, with the Frenchman of Paris. Or take the German stock. Though the difference between an American of Ohio and a German of Hesse, be not exactly the difference between a Livo-

nian and (say) a Ragusan, it is, probably, the same in amount.

So it is with their physical conformation. No Sarmatians differ from each other so much as the Laplander does from the Majiar of Hungary; perhaps, not so much as an Alabama American differs from a Swede or a Frieslander.

The sources of the Sarmatian civilization are two-fold; a fact in which it stands alone amongst the families of Northern Europe. None of these have taken their cultivation directly from Greece. Neither have they their Christian creed. The Kelts and the Germans were converted from Rome.

Now; the Eastern portion of the Slavonians, belongs to the Greek Church. Then, in respect to Romanism and Protestantism, the Western Church is divided; Poland having, at one time, been all but a Protestant country. Livonia is so at the present moment. No other European stock, except the Slavonian and Albanian, contains any Mahometans. In Bosnia there are several—so that there we have the creed of Mahomet combined with the language of one of the early bible-translations.

As is the history of the creed, so is that of the alphabet. The Poles, Bohemians, Lusatians, and all the members of the Lithuanic stock, took their letters from Germany, these being Roman. The Servians and Russians founded their alphabet on the Greek.

Upon the whole, then, the Sarmatian is a stock of pretty uniform characteristics—characteristics, however, which are not more uniform than the physical and historical conditions under which they are found—not *more*

uniform, probably not *less*. It is safe to say, that the one class bears much such a ratio to the other, as we should expect *à priori*.

In all respects the Sarmatian is more European than Asiatic; more German, Keltic, Latin, or Greek, than Mongolian, Tibetan, or Chinese. The straight black hair, and black or hazel irides, characteristics of the Turks, Mongols, and almost all the other Asiatics, are largely replaced amongst the Sarmatians by grey eyes and brown hair—brown in its lighter as well as its darker shades; brown, including flaxen. Yet the face is flatter, and the head broader, than is the case with the more extreme European types—*e. g.*, the Italian, the Spanish, and some varieties of the German. As compared with any family of the whole world, except the German and the Kelt, the Sarmatian is light-haired. The general character of the more important parts of the skeleton, especially that of the cranium, is less certain. According to the nomenclature of Pr. Retzius, the Russian skull, at least, is brakhy-kephalic,* and herein it approaches the Siberian forms of organization. The same is, probably, the case, with the Polish, Bohemian, and other divisions. The investigation, however, is difficult and incomplete.

It is especially complicated by the doubtful character of the early Sarmatian history. At the present time the limits of the Sarmatian stock are, as near as may be

* This means that, instead of the diameter of the cranium from the front to the back being (say) one-fourth longer than the diameter from side to side, as is the case with populations called dololikho-kephalic (*long-headed*), the side-to-side, or inter-parietal, is nearly as long as the fore-and-aft diameter.

co-extensive with the diffusion of the Slavonic and Lithuanian forms of speech. In other words, it rests upon the test of Language. But this test, never absolute, is eminently insufficient here, inasmuch as two facts, undeniable and undoubted, complicate and traverse it.

*a.* There is a considerable amount of Ugrian blood amongst certain populations whose speech is Slavonic.

*b.* There is a considerable amount of Slavonic blood amongst certain populations whose speech is German. In the time of Charlemagne the boundary between the Slavonians and Germans lay so far west as the Elbe; for that river formed it.

Now, the explanation of this lies in the fact of the Sarmatians having encroached on the Ugrians, whereas the Germans have encroached on the Sarmatians. If so, the Eastern parts of the Slavonic area are less Sarmatian than their language makes them, and the Eastern parts of the German area less Teutonic; facts which shew that we are now in the middle of a new question—the question of purity or mixture of blood. What if this carry us to the assertion that many of the German writers and thinkers may be—to a certain degree, Slavonic, *i. e.*, Slavonic in the way that such Englishmen as Davy and Burke are Cornish Britons, or Irish Gaels? This is a question which will be enlarged upon hereafter. So will that of the original magnitude of the Sarmatian area. At present it is one of the large ones of the world—larger than any other in Europe, but not larger than the Turk in Asia, nor, perhaps, the Algonkin in America.

This, however, applies only in respect to the surface of the country that it covers. The density of the population,

or the relation of the number of the Sarmatian men and women to the tract of country which they cover, is another matter. In number the Sarmatians yield to the Chinese.

It is safe to say, that, whatever may be the importance of certain other characteristics, the magnitude of the Sarmatian area, and the number of Sarmatian individuals, are amongst the most prominent.

THE TURKS.—The Turk group is simpler than the Sarmatian. It falls into no such divisions as the Slavonic and Lithuanian; in other words, the differences between its extreme members lie within a smaller compass. They are chiefly calculated upon the varieties of the different forms of speech. Of these—

A. 1. The Central and Northern division is found in Independent Tartary and certain of the Turkish parts of of the Russian Empire to the north and west thereof. Thus the Kirghiz, the Bashkirs of Orenburg, the Nogays of the Government of Caucasus, the Meshtsheriak of Siberia, belong to the group.

2. The Eastern division contains the dialects of Chinese Tartary, of Bokhara, and also, according to Beresin, the Turkoman of Turkestan.

3. The Western division is that of the Osmanlis of Rumelia and Anatolia.

B. 4. The Arctic Turks, called by themselves Sokhalar, but by their neighbours Yakuts, are an outlying section whose occupancy is the banks of the Lena and the parts within the Arctic Circle.

Sketch as this is, it suggests the idea of the enormous area apportioned to the Turkish stock. It is, perhaps, the largest in the world, measured by the mere extent of sur-

face; not, however the largest in respect to the number of individuals it contains. In respect to its physical conditions, its range of difference is large. The bulk of its surface is a plateau—the elevated table-land of Central Asia; so that, though lying within the same parallels as a great part of Sarmatia, its climates are more extreme. But then its outlying portions are the very shores of the Icy Sea, whilst there are other Turks as far south as Egypt. In Rumelia and Anatolia they occupy some of the most favoured parts of the world. In Caucasus they are to be found as mountaineers. The Kirghiz of Pamer occupy one of the highest table-lands in the world. They are essentially the occupants of a Stepp—herdsmen, horsemen, in some cases camel-drivers. The Sokhalar use the reindeer and the dog. The sea-board of the Turks is small; neither can it be said that where they have had any, they have made any notable use of it. But it must be remembered, that they have had in such instances a population as essentially maritime as the Greeks by their side. Agriculture, under fitting circumstances, has been less neglected. From the Crimea, from that part of Turkestan which is watered by the Jurjan, evidence may be collected that the Turk, simply by the fact of his belonging to the Turk stock, is by no means repugnant to agricultural industry. In Europe he is a conqueror, and, as such, gets his work done on easier terms than those that stimulate industry.

In the way of city-building, few of the Turk tribes have exhibited any activity. The tent, rather than the house, is their natural home. Besides which, they have generally conquered countries already civilized; soils already

built upon. Constantinople shews this. So do the towns of Anatolia.

The Sokhalar are either Pagans or imperfect Christians of the Greek Church, their conversion having been attempted by the Russians. In Chinese Tartary there may be Buddhists—though here I speak with imperfect information. In the sixth century a Turk tribe was converted, by Nestorian missionaries from Syria, to Christianity. Saving these exceptional phenomena the whole Turk stock is Mahometan—next to the Arab, the most exclusively Mahometan in the world. The Turks are Sunnites rather than Shiites—the Persians being Shiite rather than Sunnite. Their intellectual development takes a favourable form only when contrasted with that of the ruder populations, such as the Mongolians, the Mantschus, and the Ugrians. The Indian civilization is foreign to them; the Chinese civilization foreign also. The European has yet to be adopted. For their alphabet they have two sources—Christian Syria, Mahometan Arabia. The influence, however, of the former has been superseded by that of the latter; so that at the present moment the Turk, next to the Arab, is the great Mahometan family. The character of the original Paganism is hard to be ascertained. The historical notices of the Turks *under that name*, anterior to the introduction of the Koran, are few. They may be increased by resorting to the history of some of the barbarous tribes of antiquity; *e. g.*, the Huns and the Scythians. This, however, is the history of the stock under *another* name; and it should be added that it is not every investigator who admits these affinities, however decidedly the present

writer may commit himself to the support of them. The best field, however, for the study of the Turk mythology in its unmodified form is the Yakut country, where (as already has been stated) the original Paganism is still retained. It is essentially *Shamanistic* (whatever may be the import of this word) in character; *i. e.*, it is akin, in its general features, to the superstitions of the Laps, the Samoyeds, the rude populations of the Kolyma and Indijerka. We may say (if we choose) that it is *Siberian*.

The physical appearance of the Turk family is scarcely susceptible of any very general expression. We may call it *Mongol*, and, in doing so, we should be strictly correct in respect to the northern and the eastern branches. The Uzbeks of Bokhara are described in terms that would suit a Kalmuk. The Turcomans of Turkestan have a similar physiognomy. So have the Kirghiz of Independent Tartary; and, in a less degree, the Nogays of the Government of Caucasus. Still less favoured are the Turks of Siberia, of the Barabinski Steppe, and the colder parts of Tobolsk and Irkutsk. They fall off in size, and degenerate in strength. Finally, we reach the Arctic Circle, where the figure of the Yakut approaches that of the Lap or Samoyed; still, however, preserving a superiority. At any rate, his features are Mongol. Von Middendorf expressly states this, and contrasts their language with their physiognomy. The former connects them with the Osmanli of Constantinople, the latter with the Mongols of the wall of China. It is safe, then, to say, that for the northern and eastern Turks the statement that their physical organization is Mongol is justifiable. It is more than this. It is the best way of

expressing the fact. There are, of course, differences of detail; but, on the whole, the word *Mongol* is the best single term we can adopt. The face is flat, the head is broad rather than long, the nose sunken, the skin tawny, the beard scanty, the hair strong, black, and straight, the eyes occasionally oblique.

But turn from this picture to that of the Osmanli of Rumelia or Anatolia, whose nose is aquiline, whose chin is bearded, and who may often serve as a model of manly beauty. The term Mongol no longer has its application. The physiognomy approaches the European type. It approaches it. More than this cannot be said. Even in the most European forms the cheek-bones continue to be prominent, the skin brown or brunette, and the suborbital portion of the face flattened. What are we to infer from this? That the changes in the physical conditions of climate and soil have effected other changes, or that the blood has become less Turk and more something else through intermixture with Anatolians, Georgians, Circassians, Europeans, &c.? I give no opinion upon this point. I only raise the question as to which of the two Turk forms of physiognomy is the normal, and which the exceptional, one. A glance at the map gives the answer. The *rule* is with the Usbeks, the Kirghiz, and the Turcomans, the populations of the Mongol organization. The *exception* is with the Osmanli—the Turks of the smaller geographical area; the Turks of a tract of country which was, originally, other than Turkish; the Turks who have been most exposed to influences previously untried; the Turks who have had the greatest opportunity for the introduction of foreign blood in the way

of intermixture; and the Turks who, of the nations of the world, have made it a practice to avail themselves of it.

The ordinary physiognomy, then, of the Turk tribes is Mongol—the Yakuts on one side, and the Osmanli on the other, presenting the extreme forms. This leads us to the notice of the physical conditions under which they live.

The vast magnitude of their area has been indicated. It stretches from south to north, over more parallels of latitude than the whole of Europe, inasmuch as the Turks of Syria lie south of the most southern parts of Greece, and the Yakuts of the Lena approach the Pole as near as the most northern Laplanders. At the same time, a line passing midway through the Turk area would nearly coincide with one that bisected the Sarmatian. In the way of altitude, we have extremes equally important. The Kirghiz of Pamer seek for summer-pastures at the height of more than 10,000 feet.

The social organization of the Turk stock rests essentially on the division into *tribes*, a constitution common to the Mongols and the Mantshus in Central Asia (*perhaps*, also, to some of the Bhot or Tibetan populations), and to the Brahuis, the Biluchis, and the Kurds of Persia. It is also Arab and Jewish; partially African, still more partially European.

Other characteristics of greater or less importance and generality could be attributed to the Turk family, if we went into the early history of it. But the early history of all nations is beset with uncertainties, and demands, besides, too much criticism to be dealt with in the

unconditional manner required in a sketch like the present.

THE UGRIANS.—With the exception of the Majiars of Hungary, every division and sub-division of the Ugrian class is contained within the boundaries of the Russian Empire. Hence, they will, each and all, have a separate notice. For this reason, the present notice of them is short; and they will rather be compared and contrasted with the other two stocks, than come under any especial substantive description.

Their physiognomy is so far Turk, that the writers who apply the term *Mongol*, as the designation for one of the primary varieties of the human species in the way of physical conformation—the writers, in short, who adopt the nomenclature of Blumenbach—place the Ugrians and Turks in the same class; that class being the *Mongol*. So that, in the eyes of the anatomist, the Turks and Ugrians belong to the same great division of mankind.

So they do in the eyes of the philologues, who, having originally brought the languages represented by the Turkish, the Proper Mongolian and the Mantshu, under three divisions (respectively called Turk, Mongol, and Tungusian), eventually admitted a fourth—the Ugrian—the one before us.

In the eyes of the ethnologist, who so far combines the two methods, as to apply the test of language as well as that of organization, and the test of organization as well as that of language, these special classifications still continue to hold good; in other words, the philological and anatomical classifications coincide.

Neither are they impaired when we add to the characteristics, their habits, manners, customs, superstitions, and intellectual aptitudes.

Under all aspects—

The Turks and Ugrians are closely allied classes.

On the other hand—

The Sarmatians belong to the so-called Caucasian class; *that is*, if we take the anatomist's view, and use the nomenclature of Blumenbach—

And their language is what is called *Indo-European; that is*, its relations are with Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, and German—and (more remotely) with the Keltic.

Now, *Caucasian* is a term of equal generality with *Mongolian; Indo-European* being equally general as a term in philology. If so, the Turk and Sarmatian are widely separated from each other.

They belong to two different orders; and this, whether our classification be anatomical or philological.

These orders, moreover, are each of the highest value. There is no group to which the Indo-European class has been subordinated; none to which the Caucasian.

What does this imply? That somewhere between the Turks and Sarmatians there is a broad line of demarcation —of which the Ugrians lie on the Turkish side. Now, if mankind fell into Species rather than Varieties; if the lines of demarcation between such varieties were of the broad and trenchant sort that the proper naturalist loves to deal with; and lastly, if ethnology were an old study whereof the facts and principles had long been criticized and ventilated, all this might be the case.

But it is *not* the case as it is.

In the mind of the present writer, the divisions and demarcations are overdrawn. The philologist finds Indo-European phenomena in the languages of Asia; the anatomist, a Mongolian osteology amongst the so-called Caucasians of Europe. Evidence of this will be given in the forthcoming chapters. At present it is sufficient to guard against the exaggeration of differences, and to prepare ourselves for facts rather than names, classifications, and opinions; names, classifications, and opinions, embodied in such terms as *Caucasian*, *Mongolian* (as applied to a primary division of the human species), and *Indo-European*. Common words, like *European*, and *Asiatic*, or *Oriental*, will help us more. We attach familiar meanings to them, though, without perhaps, defining them. We know that the Pole is more European than the Turk, the Turk more Asiatic than the Pole; we know that as we move westwards we find the nearest approaches to our own type, and that we recede from this type as we go eastwards. At present, this is sufficient.

Now, it is safe to say, that where the Sarmatian recedes from the Ugrian he approaches the German, and it is equally safe to say, that where the Ugrian recedes from the Turk he approaches the Sarmatian.

There are three terms—Tungusian, Turanian, and Tartar—that will help to explain this.

*a. Tungusian* is the name of a class which comprises, along with the Mantshus who conquered China, a number of less important tribes situated in the north-eastern parts of Asia, in the Governments of Tobolsk and Irkutsk, on the upper and middle parts of the Rivers Yenesey and

Lena, and, more especially, on the drainage of the Amur, Saghalin, or Selinga River. It is a word of equal value with *Ugrian* and *Turk* in the way of classification.

*Mongolian* is a word, in the way of classification, of equal value with *Tungusian*, *Turk*, and *Ugrian*. It means the tribes to the north-west of the wall of China—the Mongolians of the Khalkas and the desert of Cobi; the Mongolians, in short, of Mongolia Proper—Mongolia in the limited sense of the term.

*b.* The Mongolian, the Tungusian, the Turk, and the Ugrian (along with another division not necessary to be mentioned here), constitute an order called the *Turanian*.

*c.* Two of our terms are thus explained. Now, in respect to *Tartar* it has been stated, some pages back, that, although the word was in many respects an inconvenient term, it could still be made applicable for ethnological purposes. Let it denote not the Turk stock alone—nor yet the Mongolians alone—nor yet alone the class to which the Mantshu conquerors of China belonged—but the three collectively.

In habits, the Turks, Mongolians, and Mantshus are certainly more like each other than even the Turks are to the Ugrian. They are all eminently nomadic—so long, at least, as they are limited to their original area.

This area was one of a uniform physical condition. It spread over the *steppes* of Northern and Central Asia. The Ugrian did so only partially.

In physical conformation they are alike, notwithstanding the extent to which some of the Turks are Ugrian, and even European, in physiognomy. The purest and most unmixed Turk tribes are essentially

Mongol in physiognomy; so much so, that Mongol intermixture *has been assumed, in order to account for it—most gratuitously, however.*

*The general character of their histories is* alike.

Their social organization is based upon the division into tribes. It is *tribual*, so to say.

Now, if we may be said to have, in these points, so many *Tartar* characteristics, the word becomes convenient; and it suggests itself as a term descriptive of the habits of the Turk, the Mongolian, and the Tungusian, as opposed to the Ugrian, Turanians. It denotes certain common characteristics in the way of habits, manner of life, and history. But it is a word like *European* or *Asiatic*, more convenient than strictly scientific. If we look to the language, the Turk is as much Ugrian as Mongolian.

However, the word enables us to predicate of the Ugrians that, as a class, they are less Tartar-like than the others. I find no one who has called them Tartars. The Tibetans have been called so; and that inconveniently; but no Ugrian tribe. There is a reason for this; a reason that lies in their habits.

The system of tribes has no prominence amongst the Ugrians.

The forest rather than the steppe is their *habitat*—if not the forest, the *tundra*.

In their physical conformation they exhibit this important phenomenon. They are the first stock in the direction from East to West, whereof the hair is not almost exclusively black and the eyes black, also. This may sound strange; because the thoroughly exceptional

character of white, brown, and red hair, with a fair complexion to match, is not sufficiently recognized. Yet it is only in Europe, and the Ugrian part of Asia, that they occur. What is there white, red, or even brown in Africa? What throughout the whole length and breadth of America? What in any island of Polynesia? What in Australia? What in Asia where it is other than Ugrian? There are no light-haired Turks; yet the Turk is the stock nearest to the Ugrian. Not that the Ugrians are *blondes*. Whole sections are dark rather than fair; whole sections fair rather than dark—this being also a point of interest and importance.

In all this the Ugrian approaches the Sarmatian.

Few, if any, of the Ugrians are Mahometan; few, if any, Buddhist. Some are still Pagans. The majority are Christians; Lutherans, or Christians of the Greek Church, according to the nation that has converted them; the former where the influence has been Swedish, the latter where it has been Russian. In Hungary there are Roman Catholics.

Some of the Ugrian languages are unwritten, some written. Where the influences have been Russian, the alphabet is Russian also. Otherwise it is German or Swedish.

The early history of the Ugrian stock is liable to the same complications as that of the Turks and Sarmatians. For this reason it finds no place amongst our present considerations.

## CHAPTER II.

THE UGRIAN STOCK—UGRIANS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ST. PETERSBURG—THE VOD—THE IZHOR—THE AURAMOISET—THE SAVAKOT—THE TSHUD OF NOVOGOROD AND OLONETZ—THE TERM TSHUD—THE YAM.

THE Ugrians of the map, with its commentary, before us, are—

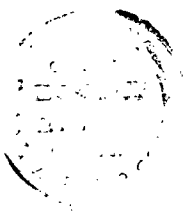
1.—The Samoyeds.
2.—The Laps.
3.—The Voguls.
4.—The Finns falling into—
  A. *a.* The Tshud.
    *b.* The Vod.
    *c.* The Esthonians.
    *d.* The Liefs.
  B. The Karelians—
    *a.* Auramoiset.
    *b.* Savakot.
    *c.* Izhor.
    *d.* Karelians Proper.

5.—Permians.

*a.* Siranians.
*b.* Permians.
*c.* Votiaks.
*d.* Besermanians.

6.—Volga Finns.

*a.* Tsheremis.
*b.* Mordvin.
*c.* Tshuvash.



For these we have the statistics; *i. e.*, the number of the different divisions as distributed over the different Governments. But the Duchy of Finland is not noticed in the table; although it is in the map. Neither are the Ostiaks; though they occur in the map also. This gives us as additions to class 4—

*a.* The Quains.
*b.* The Tavastrians.

It also gives us as a division next to the Voguls—

The Ostiaks.

Add to these the recent additions to the class (the Samoyeds having already been enumerated), which are—

1. The Yeniseians, and
2. The Yukahiri;

and we have the details of the great Ugrian class as represented by populations actually, and at the present moment, in existence. The extinct, amalgamated, modified, and disguised tribes are another matter.

We are dealing with the ethnography of Russia; so let us begin with the parts that best represent Russia. These are the parts between one of its present capitals and one of its ancient ones—St. Petersburgh and Novogorod. We may consider these words as the names of

either the Government or the Metropolis, just as we may, in England, speak of either the town or the county of Lincoln, Leicester, Hertford, &c. St. Petersburg is a new city; and *Novo*gorod, as if in opposition to its name (*New*-town), is an old one. It was for a long time the chief terminal point of settlement to the Russians from the South and West. It was also the starting point from which more than one fresh conquest was effected. The Government of Novogorod itself was once wholly Ugrian; but not within the historical period. It is partially so now.

From Novogorod the Slavonian (Russian) intrusion extended westwards, northwards, and eastwards—westwards in the direction of the Gulf of Finland; northward towards the Governments of Olonets and Archangel; eastwards towards those of Vologda and Permia. Its goals seem to have been the two ports of St. Petersburg and Archangel, and the mining districts of the Ural.

From Novogorod the Slavonic intrusion extended westwards—westward in the direction of the Gulf of Finland and the present City of St. Petersburg. With what Ugrian obstacles did it meet? How far did it annihilate them? In case the annihilation was incomplete, what remains of the original population still exist?

The Ugrians of the Government of St. Petersburg fall into five divisions, the number of each being as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Esthonians | 7,736 |
| 2. Karelians | 3,660 |
| 3. Auramoiset | 29,344 |
| 4. Savakot | 42,979 |
| 5. Izhor | 17,800 |
| 6. Vod | 5,148 |

Of these the first are outlyers from the neighbouring Government of Esthonia, to which, ethnographically, they belong. The Karelians are also referable to another division; *i. e.*, the one which attains its fullest development in Western Finland. The Auramoiset and Savakot are more or less Finlandish in origin also. The Izhor are, probably, indigenous—at least, in part. The Vod are almost certainly indigenous.

*The Vod (or Vot).*—The *Vod* represent the aboriginal Ugrians of the Government of St. Petersburg. The name in the form before us is Russian. The Germans of Narva call their district *Watland*, and the people *Watlanders*. The native name—the name by which the people designate themselves—is *Watt*-ialaiset or *Wadd*-ialaiset, the termination *-laiset* being one that we shall meet with again. It means *men, population, tribe;* and, when attached to other words, so as to form a plural, has much the same power as the *er* in our words—Highland-*er*, British-*er*, &c. It is truly Fin or Ugrian, and whenever we meet a Gentile name in *-laiset* we may be sure that we have a Fin or Ugrian gloss before us. So it is with *-lainen*, which is the same word in the singular number.

The five thousand and odd *Vat*landers are limited to a small tract on the coast of the Gulf of Finland, between Cronstadt and Narva, so that they are the most western of the St. Petersburg Ugrians. Yet their original area was larger A.D. 1069. Wseslav, when Prince of Polotsk, fought a bloody battle against them under the walls of Novogorod, and defeated them with great carnage. Here the account stands with the name *Vod*, unequicocally. Nestor, however, the earliest Russian annalist,

mentions only *Tshud* and *Narova;* but as his language for these parts is general, and as his information was not of the most precise kind, it is likely that we have in his pages the acts of the Watlanders under other names. At any rate, the Ugrians of these parts appear under the very earliest light of the dawn of Russian history. Then we have the divisions of the ancient Novogorod, which give the *Votskaia Pâtina* (*i. e.*, the *Vod Fifth*), just as, in the eyes of the old Norsemen, Northumberland was "a fifth part of England," or, as in Yorkshire, we talk of the *Trithings* (Ridings). The Swedes took up this name, Russian as it was, and in a document of King John III. (A.D. 1590) we find that he makes his son "Prince of Finland, Carelia, Wätzkij-Pethin, and Ingermanland, in Russia." Hence, at the time when the *Wattialaiset* were numerous, there were two ethnological divisions comprised in the present Government of St. Petersburg—*Wat*-land and *Inger*-mannland, Wätskipetin and Ingria. It is in the parishes of Kattila and Soikkina that the Wattialaiset (by those who would visit them *in situ*) are to be found. Their dialect is peculiar. Some writers make it more Esthonian than Finlandish, others more Finlandish than Esthonian. Sjögren connects them with the Tshud of the Bieloserk, and, through it, with the Yam and Tavastrian, a detail of which the fuller illustration will be given in the sequel.

"Tunnet pajattaa *Waiss*"—this means "*Speak you Vod?*" Observe the form the word takes when it appears (as it only does when it is applied to the language) without the terminations *-laiset*, &c. Something will, perhaps, come of this.

*The Izhor.*—North of the Vod, and in contact with them, lie *The Izhor*, as they are called by the Russians, *Ingri*-kot as they call themselves. Observe the termination *kot*. This is the population from which the Swedes and Germans get the name *Inger*-man-land; in Latin, *Ingaria* and *Ingria;* Ingria, also, in English geography. The Vod call the Izhor Karelians (*Karjalaiset*), a point upon which Sjögren lays much stress, inasmuch as it confirms his view of the difference between them. The Izhor are the next oldest occupants of St. Petersburg after the Vod. They are most numerous on the Vod frontier, decreasing as you move northwards; decreasing, too, as time goes on. In the direction of the Lake of Ladoga they were once numerous. They were once numerous in the northern circles of the government. Their dialects are numerous; on the Vod frontier like the Vod, on the Auramoiset frontier like the Auramoiset.

The following is a Vod wedding-song, a translation of a translation, and that a free one; a free one in something like metre.* Like that of the old German populations, this consists in alliteration; two or more words within the same couplet beginning with the same letter. To shew this I have given the original text:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Neitsüeni ainagoni! | Single, dear daughter-in-law! |
| Menet kaiwolle, kanani! | Thou goest to the spring, chicken! |
| Wesitielle, wierakkoni! | The water-way, dear stranger! |
| Alä waad warjoa wetee! | Give way to the reflection on the water, |

* By Sjögren, Memoires de l'Academie de St. Petersbourg. Serie vi., Tom. ii., p. 151.

| | |
|---|---|
| Wesi wetab kaiuiu. | For the water takes away thy charms. |
| Meill on naised nagrajad; | We have fair wives; |
| Meill on cinainaad eliäd. | We have fair meadows; |
| Alä mene kurjosa kujalle! | Keep aloof from the house of the flatterer; |
| Pääpaikas parapi muita, | Bright is the cap of thy head, |
| Körja muita körkääpi. | Higher than that of all the rest. |
| Neitsüseni aniagoni! | Single, dear daughter-in-law! |
| Neitsüt aianagoanoni! | Dear daughter-in-law, single only! |
| Alä tuskaa tuloa, | Never may thy coming rue thee, |
| Kaa katsche lähtego! | Never may thy journey trouble! |
| Emmä pannu pakasialle, | I did not betrothe you to a deserter, |
| Emmä wienüd wöhkasuolle; | Took you not over the mossy moor, |
| Panimma poisile üwälle. | But I gave you to the good youth. |

*The Auramoiset.*—The Auramoiset lie north of the Izhor, on both sides of the Neva. Some of them extend as far as the district of Viborg, in the Duchy of Finland. Türis, Duderhof, Ropseha, Ingris, Lüsilä, Valkiasaari, Toksova, and Voles, are the parishes in which they must be sought. Keksholm is their northernmost point. *Akramoiset* and *Agramoiset* are the other forms of their name.

*The Savakot.*—The Savakot are closely allied to the Auramoiset, being somewhat less rude; the women, too, wear a different sort of cap; and this supplies the chief distinction between them. They are mixed with the Auramoiset in some of their localities; with the Izhor in the others; the circles of St. Petersburg, Schlüsselburg, Sophia, Oranienbaum, Yamburg, and Narva, being their chief seats.

In A.D. 1623, the district of Agrepää, in the department of Viborg, the south-western province of Finland, was ceded by the Russians to the Swedes, and along with two others, namely Yeskis and Savolax. It is believed that when this took place the ancestors of the Savokot and Auramoiset migrated into their present localities.

Sjögren considers the affinities of the Savakot and Auramoiset to be Karelian rather than Tavastrian.

If we now ask what parts of the Government of St. Petersburg are the most Ugrian, we shall find them to be those districts which lie between the sea and Lake Ladoga; the parts nearest the capital itself. On the other hand, the northern and southern portions are Russian. The southern shore of the Lake Ladoga is Russian. The parts between Novogorod and the Lake Peipus are Russian. The parts between these two areas are Ugrian. So that the Slavonic encroachments followed the lines of the rivers Luga and Volkov, and the Ugrian strongholds are the low lands along the side of the sea. This is the distribution we expect.

*The Tshud.*—The yellow colouring on the map denotes the Izhor, the Auramoiset, and the Sawakot collectively. Without distinguishing them from each other, it distinguishes them from the Vod. The yellow with a buff border—such is the colouring of the "Finns of the Government of St. Petersburg."

In the governments of Novogorod and Olonets this yellow colouring re-appears, but with a difference. The bordering is red—the colour for the Vod. The name, too, is changed. The yellow and red Ugrians of the governments of Olonets and Novogorod are called *Tshud,*

an important word, and one that requires explanation and criticism.

Now, the meaning of the marking is this. The Izhor, Auramoiset, and Savakot, are considered to be foreign to their present localities—to have come thither from the north, from Finland—from Karelian Finland, rather than Tavastrian Finland, whereas the Vod are aboriginal. More than this, it is considered that the nearest affinities to these Vod are those of the Tshud, distant as they are in geographical position. The chief evidence upon this point lies in the similarity of dialect, and in the fact of both bearing a relation to the same division of the Finlanders—the Tavastrians. Sjögren suggested it as early as A.D. '30 or '32, and it seems that the ethnographer of the map before us had adopted it.

Now, *Tshud* is said to be the name by which the Slavonic nations designated such other nations as were, at one and the same time, other than Slavonic and Ugrian. They are not said to call the Germans so; indeed, the Germans they call *Niemce*. Nor yet do they call the Turks so; these are Tartars. Wherever, then, the word *Tshud* is used, it is used by a Slavonian, and applied to an Ugrian. It is not known to the Ugrians themselves, and is anything but a complimentary designation. It is much such a word as *Barbarus* in Greek and Latin, only not applied so generally. It is also such a word as *Welsh* in the English and German; a word which is applied to the Welshman of Wales, to the Italians of Italy, and to the Walloons of Belgium, by the Germans of their respective frontiers, and which is as little Walloon as it is Welsh, and as little Welsh as it is Italian.

This is the usual statement; but it must be taken with some reserve. I cannot find that all the Ugrians were called *Tshud*. The Esthonians are not so called. The Finlanders are not. It seems as if the name was given more especially by the Russians of Novogorod to the Ugrians of their immediate frontier; at any rate, the Ugrians under notice are pre-eminently Tshud, and as Sjögren connects them with the Vod, he occasionally allows himself to speak of the one as the Northern Tshud, the other as the Southern Tshud. *East* and *West* would, perhaps, have been the better adjectives. What are the relations between these Tshuds and a population called *Yam?*

A.D. 1042, Wladimir, son of Yaroslav, marched with a mighty army out of Novogorod, against a population called *Yem*, or *Yam*, and conquered them. He lost, however, his horses through a murrain. After this the Yam appear frequently in Russian history, and that as a sturdy, brave people. Two elaborate papers of Sjögren address themselves to the question—Who were the Yam? The answer is, that they were the ancestors of the present Tshud of Olonets and Novogorod.

The Tshud have suffered much from encroachment, more than the Ugrians of St. Petersburg. They lie, we see, in patches, in islands. They have, too, other Ugrians in contact with them, just as was the case with the Vod. They lie, some on the banks of Lake Onega, others in the circle of Bielosersk (the circle of the *White Lake*). They lie in Novogorod, as well as in Olonets. When Sjögren described them, he carried their numbers as high as 21,000. The present tables give for

| | |
|---|---|
| The Government of Novogorod ... | 7,067 |
| —— Olonets ..... | 8,560 |
| Total ..... | 15,627 |

For themselves they have no special names; they have one, however, for their language. This they call *Luudin Kieli*, the *Luudin Speech*. But *Luudin* is a word that has not yet been explained. Then we have in Nestor the name *Vess*, a name that has to be considered.

## CHAPTER III.

THE UGRIAN STOCK CONTINUED—THE SIRANIANS—THE PERMIANS—THE VOTIAKS—THE BESERMANIANS.

THE SIRANIANS.—The Government of Vologda is Siranian in the way that Olonetz and Novogorod are Tshud, and St. Petersburg Ingrian; the Government of Vologda and the water-system of the Upper Dwina,—the eminently Siranian rivers being the Vytshegda, the Vym, and the Syssola. Some Siranians, however, lie on the south side of the watershed, on the Kama. Of this the River Syria is a feeder, and it is on this that we find villages named Syrianskoe, so that the name seems to have originated on the southern frontier and on the water-system of the Volga. In fact, the southern Siranian is a northern Permian, and *vice versâ;* the differences in dialect, manners, and appearance, being but small. Originally, indeed, there was no distinction between the two branches—none, indeed, between any of the North-eastern Ugrians. The same denomination expressed all.

The Siranian language falls into four dialects; three being pretty closely allied to each other, but the fourth being an outlyer, much mixed up with the Samoyed; consequently, this outlying dialect is the northern one. Nevertheless, somewhat unfortunately for the philologue, it was in the northern, outlying, and modified dialect of the Siranian that the first attempts at a grammar were made. This was Flörow's, published in 1813, the dialect being the Udorian—*i. e.*, that for the parts about Udorsk.

Since then, the Gospel of St. Matthew has been translated into the Ustsyssola dialect; probably the purest of the four. Yet, even here we have a great number of Russian words. The other two forms of speech, allied (as aforesaid) to each other and to the Ustsyssola, are the Siranian of the Upper Vytshegda, and the Siranian of the Yaren.

The Siranians have long been converted to the Greek Church; being, along with the Permians, the first of the Eastern Ugrians to whom the Gospel was preached. Their apostle was St. Stephanus.

The name by which they are here described is foreign to them and unknown. They call themselves, like the Permians, Komi-uter, or Komi-murt; so that *Siranian* is a Russian word.

Their country is one of the thickest forest districts of Russia, and, in these, the Siranians live the lives of foresters and huntsmen—sufficiently hardworking and active, with a taste for making long rambles during the hunting season, and with an average aptitude for trade and industry. They nearly all speak Russian.

According to Schubert, their number was 30,000. The tables before us run,—

| | |
|---|---|
| Siranians of the Government of Archangel ... | 6,958 |
| ——— Vologda ..... | 64,007 |
| | 70,965 |

The Siranian Pater-noster is as follows:—

Bate mijan, kodü em nebessajas wülün;
Med swätitsäs nim tenad;
Med woas tsarstwo tenad;
Med loas wölä tenad, küdsi nebessa wülün i mu wülün.
Nänj mijanlü pötmön set mijanlü ta lun keshö;
I enowt mijanlü udshjesjass mijanlüssj,
Küdsi i mi enowtalam asslanüm üdshjesajaslü;
I en nuöd mijanöss ülödöm wülö; a widsj mijanöss lukawöijissi;
Tenad wöd em tsarstwo i wün i slawa wiek keshö.—Aminj.

*The Permians.*—The Government of Permia, and the water-system of the Kama, give the area of the Permian group, which is separated from the Siranian more in conformity with common language than on the strength of any essential differences. No such distinction occurs amongst the older notices—the name *Permian*, being the only one they supply; a name including the Ugrians of the Dwina and Petshora as well as those of the Kama or Upper Volga; and it is in the Scandinavian writings where it occurs most prominently. *Biarmaland*, or the land of the *Biarmas* (*Permians*), was a robbing-ground of the old Norse seamen. It was also an emporium for their trade. It was Biarmaland with which they came in contact on the White Sea; Biarmaland to which the

parts about the present port of Archangel belonged. So that it was visited from the West by sailors who had to double the North Cape before they reached it.

The history of the Biarmaland trade is the commercial history of the White Sea; just as the history of Finland and Pomerania is that of the Baltic.

The Beormas were known to the Anglo-Saxons, and mention of them occurs in Other and Wulfstan's Voyages. No nation of the North exceeded them in importance; and when we observe, that it is a country so far south and so far inland as the present Government of Permia which preserves their name, we get a measure of the magnitude of the original Permian area—an area which, as has been already stated, included the Siranians, and the populations of the Petshora, perhaps, also, the Votiaks.

Nevertheless, no enquirer has detected, amongst the present Permians, any vestiges of their ancient importance in the way of traditions or nationality. They all seem unconscious of it. They know nothing of their ancient renown; they know nothing also of the distinction drawn by the Russians between themselves and the Siranians; as little of the two names—Permian (or Permiak) and Siranian. Like the latter people, they call themselves Komi -murt or Komi -uter—*murt* meaning *man*.

Converted to the Greek Church in the latter half of the fourteenth century, by the same St. Stephanus who was the apostle to the Siranians, the Permians came betimes in contact with the Russians. Yet, as long as the mineral riches of their country remained undeveloped, they preserved, to a great extent, their original character

of huntsmen, fishers, foresters, and peltry-men. Herberstein says, that they paid a tribute of skins and neglected agriculture. The Slavonic immigration, that arose out of the mines, began in the beginning of the last century, and it has been so encroaching and so influential that the Permian population is, at the present moment, one of the more fragmentary populations of Russia—fragmentary and decreasing, at least in proportion to the Slavonic. Schubert gives 35,000 as the number of the Permians. The tables before us run—

| | |
|---|---|
| Permians in the Government of Viatka... | 4,599 |
| ——— Perm ... | 47,605 |
| | 52,204 |

*The Votiaks.*—The Siranians belong more especially to the Government of Vologda and the water-system of the Dwina; the Permians to Permia and the Kama; the third member of the group, the Votiaks, to the Government of Viatka and the river of the same name.

It is the Russians who call them *Votiaks*, the last two syllables being derivative. So that the root is *Vot*. This brings it near to the *native* designation, which is *Udi*, the same as *-uter* in the Permian and Siranian names Komi-*uter*. They compound this with the word *murd*, meaning *man* (Permian and Siranian again), which gives us the form *Udmurt*. So that—

The Votiaks are the Udi, or Ud-murt.

The Permians and The Siranians } are the Komi-uter or Komi-murt.

This element *murt*, or, to speak more generally, this root *m -rt* (or *m -rd*), is important, and will re-appear.

Again, it must be remembered, that the name *Vod* or *Vot* has already come before us in the ethnology of the Government of St. Petersburg, and that the term for the *Vod* language was *Vess.*

The Tsheremis use the form *Odd,* in speaking of these same Votiaks, Ud-murt, or *Udi*—the same word. The Turks call them *Ari.*

So that the name by which the Votiaks are designated by themselves and others is pretty constant. Not so the names they themselves give their neighbours. The Russians they call *Dzhüs,* or *Dyutsh*-murt, a word curiously, though, perhaps, not accidentally, like the word *Dutch* (*Deutsch*). The Turks are *Viger*—probably *Bulgarians;* the Tsheremis, *Pohr;* the Tshuvash and the Mordvins, *Taulu.*

Their country they call Kam-*kosip;* a word like *Doab* in Indian; *Entre Rios* in Portugueze; and *Interamna* in Latin. It means the country between the two rivers—the Kama and the Viatka. *Kama,* too, is a Votiak word.

This word *Kosip* is remarkable. Admit the probability of the Ugrians of Courland and Lithuania having originally extended as far westwards as Pomerania, and we have a probable explanation for the word *Kassub* (*Kaszeb*), the name of a *Slavonic* population of the Rugenwalde district west of the Vistula; a name that has never been satisfactorily explained.

Their language connects the Votiaks with the Permians rather than with any other section of the Ugrians; yet there is a belief amongst some of them that they descended from the north-west, from Finland Proper.

Their physiognomy is Fin. Their name is like that of the Ingrian *Vod.* Perhaps, the origin of the doctrine lies herein. That they extended further southwards is both probable *à priori*, and confirmed by the name of a locality on the Kasanka. This is Ars*koi Prigorod*, the Fortress of the *Ari*—*i. e.*, of the Votiaks under their Turk denomination. It was one of their last strongholds against the Tartars; well defended, and exhibiting at the present moment remains of its ancient defences.

No Ugrian isolates himself so much as the Votiak. The Permians and Siranians generally can speak Russian, though they maintain their own tongue. The Tshuvash and Tsheremis, though they mix but little with the Turks (Tartars) of the neighbourhood, and less with the Slavonians, are not unsociable to each other. But the Votiak keeps exclusively to himself, mixing with the Tsheremis of the parts around him as little as with the Russian.

The Votiak is liker the Finlander of Finland in personal appearance than is the case with the generality of Ugrians; and as the Finlander of Finland is the strongest and stoutest of his family, the Votiak form contrasts favourably with that of the Tshuvash and Tsheremis. From these they are said to be easily distinguished, as much, however, by the hair as aught else. The Votiaks are the most red-headed men in the world—fiery-red is the epithet. Light, flaxen, or yellow, is also frequent; and after this, the darker shades of brown. The beard is reddish; the skin light. In temper, also, the Votiak resembles the Finlander, being steady, sturdy, laborious, and agricultural. The Permian is a useful laborer in the mine; the Sira-

nian (if the chase can be called a form of useful industry) in the forest; the Votiak in the field. The Votiak accumulates property—saving, but hospitable. The women weave, spin, and make felts.

The Votiak country lies within the range of the lime-tree, and the lime-tree feeds the bee. So that the Votiaks are great bee-herds, bee-breeders, or bee-masters—a term of this kind being necessary for these parts. The Bashkirs and other Siberian populations will be found with the same habits. A Votiak may own some fifty bee-hives.

A Votiak village contains from twenty to forty houses, larger than that of the Tsheremis, smaller than that of the Tshuvash. It covers a clearance in the forest, the wood being left in its natural condition on the boundary. This isolates the Votiak villages, and they lie as the old German ones did—with wastes and woodlands between them. When the ground of a settlement has become exhausted by cropping, the occupants leave it and migrate elsewhere. Sometimes they make the old place over to other settlers. In these vestiges of their ancient nomadism the Tsheremis agree with the Votiak. The house is of wood, scarcely different from that of the Russian. Perhaps we should rather say that the Russian house is like the Votiak—the style of building being, in all probability, indigenous.

The men dress like the Russians, the women only preserving the old Votiak costume. The material for their cap is the white bark of the birch-tree, with a band of blue linen bound round it, and adorned in the front with silver ornaments—often coins. This fashion we shall find amongst the Tshuvashes—the fashion, I mean, of using

pieces of money as decorations. Then there are streamers of white linen flowing and floating over the back and shoulders, with red fringes and embroidery along the borders. This head-dress is the *aishon*. If a stranger sleep in the house, the *aishon* will be worn all night as well as all day, since it is decorous to keep the head covered, indecorous to let down the hair. The shirts and shifts, too, are more or less embroidered. The tribual organization, so characteristic of the Turk stock, appears in a modified form amongst the Votiaks, who are specially stated to "retain their original division into tribes and families, and to give the names of these to their villages. Their noble families, however, are, for the most part, extinct." How like this village organization is to that of the early Germans, may be seen by comparing these notices with Kemble's account of the old English *Mark*, with its villages ending in *-ing*, like *Malling, Harling*, &c. In these the *-ing* is a kind of patronymic, or, at least, a Gentile affix; so that (*e. g.*) *Malling* is the settlement of the *Mallings*, or *Mallingas*—the population giving the name to the settlement, that name being more or less a family one.

At the end of the last century the number of Votiaks was no more than about 40,000.

The tables before us run—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Votiaks in the Government of | Viatka..... | 181,270 |
| —— —— | Kazan..... | 5,500 |
| —— —— | Orenburg.. | ? |
| —— | District of Samar ..... | ? |
| | | 186,770 |

They pay a capitation-tax, either in money or peltry; but beyond this, are left to themselves, having, like the Tsheremis and the Tshuvash, their own elders, arbitrators, umpires, judges, or head men, for the settlement of disputes, and for the other details of village government. In the time of their independence this organization must have been more complex. Instead of the Russian official—the *Sodnick* or head of a certain number of villages—there would have been the native nobles.

The Permians and Siranians were converted as early as the fourteenth century, so that their Christianity is as independent in its growth as that of the Russians themselves. That of the Votiaks is recent, inchoate, and imperfect; derived from that of the Russians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In many cases it goes no further than the rite of baptism. We have seen the extent to which the Votiaks keep isolate. It tells on their religion as well as on their habits. In many localities we can find pure and unmodified cases of Paganism; in only a few, an equally unmodified Christianity. The old religion shews through the new—and that generally.

The parts about Glasov are the great Votiak localities. They are, also, the parts where Paganism is the rifest. The chief deity is Juman (the Finlandish Jumala), whose dwelling-place is the sun. Then come the Tasa-Buss and the Urom-Buss, the Good deity and the Bad deity; the Bad residing in the water. To these they make solemn sacrifices at stated places—consecrated spots in the deeper parts of the forest—not seldomer than three times a-year; first, when the sowing time

concludes; next, when the hay-harvest is over; thirdly, at the harvest home in autumn, when the corn is got in. These last several days; milk, honey, sheep, geese, and ducks, being the chief offerings. They pray a prayer, burn a portion of the offering, and spread a portion of it over the altar. The priest is called Tona; the consecrated ground for the offering, *Keremets* (the name we shall find when we get to the Tsheremis and Tshuvash); the festival, *Nunal*. Of these Nunals, the *Keremet Nunal* is the greatest. Then it is that a horse is sacrificed, a chestnut horse if possible, but never a black one. His fat is burnt, his hide taken home, his skull raised on a tree and left to bleach. In praying, the priest looks towards neither the rising sun nor the setting, but towards the sun at noon. This consecration of the horse's skull re-appears on the shores of the Baltic. It is also Scandinavian, but not, on that account, necessarily Norse, *i. e.*, German.

Then there is the worship of little household gods, called *Modor*.

A few of the Votiaks are Mahometans.

The language of the Votiak varies with the locality. Next to Glasov, the chief Votiak circles are those of Malmysh, Yelabuga, and Sarapul. Now, the Gospel of St. Matthew has been translated into the Yelabuga; that of St. Mark into the Glasov, Votiak. In the Glasov there is but little intermixture of Tartar; in the Yelabuga there is much. Many of the Votiak speak Turkish as well as their own language, chiefly those in Kazan, and on the Kazan frontier. In the library of the Bible Society at Viatka is a translation of all the four Gospels,

except a portion of St. Luke. It is only a portion, however, that has been printed.

The Votiak language is Permian, or Siranian, rather than Tsheremis. At the same time it has several Tsheremis characters.

*The Besermanians.*—Number in the Government of Viatka, 4,545.

I have seen no good account of this section of the Ugrians. They are, probably, but little different from the Votiaks.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE UGRIAN STOCK CONTINUED—THE ESTHONIANS.

WE have taken Novogorod as a starting point and observed the lines in which the Slavonic population extended itself at the expense of the Ugrian. We have seen that it spread in all directions. Northwards, we have followed it in that of Olonetz and Archangel; Eastwards, in that of Viatka and Perm.

We are now about to follow it *west*wards; westwards in the direction of Lithuania, Poland, Prussia, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland—the Baltic Provinces of Russia, the German Provinces of Russia, as they are also called.

The Vod lead us towards the Esthonians.

It is still the fate of the Ugrians to be compressed between two forces—sometimes more than two. With the Esthonians and Liefs, the Germans take the place of the Turks. They it is who move eastwards, to meet, as it were, the Slavonic intruders from the East. So that Livonia and Esthonia are battle-fields between two stocks; the real occupants belonging to a third.

But there are more than two parties to these conflicts. There is an encroachment from the South as well. More than this, there is an encroachment from the North. Let us look at the four frontiers of Esthonia and Livonia.

There is Russia on the East—Slavonic.

There is Germany on the West—Teutonic or German.

There is Lithuania on the South; and, although there is the Sea on the North, there is beyond the Sea—

Scandinavia, *i. e.*, Sweden and Norway; Sweden more especially.

Of Finland we take but little cognizance.

From every one of these four quarters were Esthonia and Livonia encroached upon; sometimes within the historical period, sometimes in the darker days which preceded it.

At present, the most western locality of any of the Ugrians is in Courland. In Livonia they are numerous; but in Courland they exist only as a fragment. Yet these same Ugrians of Courland are precisely those from which the province in which they are found does *not* take its name, and those from which the province in which they are not found *does*. The Ugrians of Courland are not Cours, as the name of the duchy—the *land* of the *Cours*—suggests; though a population so called once existed, the *Curonenses* of Dusburg, the *Curones* of Henry the Let, the *Curi* and *Curetes* of Saxo Grammaticus, the *Kors* of Nestor. As early as the tenth century these *Cours* fought against the Swedes, being "gens crudelissima quæ propter nimium idololatriæ cultum fugitur ab omnibus." (Adam of Bremen, *De Situ Daniæ*, c. 223.) He continues—"divinis, auguribus, atque necromanticis

omnes domus sunt plenæ, qui etiam vestitu monachico induti sunt. A toto orbe ibi responsa petuntur, maxime ab Hispani et Græcis (v. Zeuss on *v Curones*).

No such a population under the name of Cour now exists.

Next to the Curi came the *Lami*, or *Læmonii*, of the terra *Lamotina*. This is the name that *does* exist. The *terra Lamotina* is *Livonia;* the *Lami*, the *Livonians*. It is best to call them *Liefs*—since the German name *Lief*-land is far more convenient than our own Latin, or would-be Latin, designation. Nestor's form *Lib'* removes such doubts as may arise about the change from *-m-* to *-v-*. He places them next but one to the *Kors* or *Curi*.

Certain *Liefs* exist, but only twenty-two of them in *Liefland*. The majority is found on the Livonian frontier of Courland, in a strip of sea-coast. (See map.) But even this majority is a small one; inasmuch as the whole number of Liefs is—

| | |
|---|---|
| In Liefland (Livonia) ..... | 22 |
| Courland..... | 2,052 |

These are a poor and rude population of fishermen. Nevertheless, they are the descendants of men who gave a name to a province. They are also, I think, descendants of the *Lemovii* mentioned by Tacitus.

Their language is Ugrian—a form of the Esthonian.

I assume that they are *in situ*. If so, the whole southern half of *Lief*-land, which is no longer the land of the *Liefs*, but of the *Lets*, (which is a *Let*-land so to say,) contains a language foreign to its soil. In the northern half of Lief-land the Ugrians re-appear. This

tells a tale of encroachment by the Lets; for the Courlanders as well as the southern Lief-landers (or Livonians) are Let. The following tables, giving the proportions of the Ugrian and Lithuanic populations in three Governments, shew the line in which the disturbing forces have operated.

I.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In Liefland there are ..... | | | 355,238 |
| Ugrians | Esthonians ..... | 355,216 | |
| | Liefs ..... | 22 | |
| Lithuanians—Lets ..... | | | 318,872 |

II.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In Courland— | | | |
| Ugrians—Liefs ..... | | | 2,052 |
| Lithuanians | Lets ..... | 401,939 | |
| | Lithuanians ..... | 7,434 | |
| | | | 408,373 |

III.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In Lithuania— | | | |
| *a.* In Vilna— | | | |
| Lithuanians ..... | | | 138,320 |
| Ugrians ..... | | | 0 |
| *b.* In Grodno— | | | |
| Lithuanians ..... | | | 2,338 |
| Ugrians ..... | | | 0 |
| *c.* In Kovno— | | | |
| Lithuanians | Lithuanians ..... | 568,794 | |
| | Lets ..... | 6,341 | |
| | | | 575,135 |
| Ugrians ..... | | | 0 |

The Lithuanians from Vilna, Grodno, and Kovno, have encroached upon the Ugrians of *Lief*-land, and part (at least) of Courland—chiefly, however, in the times anterior to history; so that the fact is got at from induction rather than testimony.

But the Lithuanians themselves are encroached on. By whom? By the Russians. This, however, is from the east. What is their condition in the west? They are pressed upon in this direction also. By whom? The Germans. This, however, belongs to the ethnology of the Sarmatians rather than the Ugrians.

Then there are the Swedes. These, like the Germans, may stand over for a while.

No wonder that the Liefs are isolated. There has been pressure in four opposite directions.

*The Esthonians.*—If Livonia be a term more inconvenient than *Lief*-land, the equally would-be Latin word *Esthonia* is less manageable than *East*-land or *Esth*-land, the German and Scandinavian form. It means the *Eastern land*—neither more nor less; and the *Esthen* are its occupants. At the present moment this name is German, though the population to which it applies is Ugrian; Courland and Lief-land being just as German in name, and just as little German in blood. So that the country of both a Lithuanian and Ugrian population is known to the rest of Europe by a name given by Germans. Facts of this sort are of the commonest; and less would be said about the present instances did they not serve as a measure of the German influence—commercial, political, or both—in the Baltic. In this, however,

there is something irregular. The current name of the sea itself is other than German, inasmuch as *Baltic* is no German word. The names, too, of several of its divisions are other than German; *e. g.*, *Sleeve*, and *Kattegat*, and, I believe, *Belt*. Yet the three most distant provinces of its southern side are known to the rest of Europe by German names exclusively. Even in the map before us, Russian as it is, these German names are the ones in use—*Kurland, Lifland, Estlyand.*

Now, just as names for certain shores of the Baltic Sea are German in the nineteenth century, they were also German in the ninth. They were German earlier. They were German when Tacitus wrote, in the second century of our era, and they were German in the third century B. C. The eastern parts were then, as now, named from their relations to the rising sun, and it was Germans who told the informants of Tacitus and Pytheas of Marseilles what the names were. The former of these writers speaks of the *Osti* iæi (Ὀσταιοι); the latter of the *Æst* -yii.

But *East* may mean two things. It may mean the Gulph of Finland and the parts about St. Petersburg, or it may mean Courland and the parts about Memel; these latter being as truly an Eastern boundary as the former. See how the coast turns suddenly, and how it changes, from west and east, to south and north. This was the *East*-land of the *Ost*-iæi, or *Æst*-yii, as is shewn by what is said of them. They were occupants of the amber-country, or East Prussia.

They were not, then, the ancestors of the Esthonians

of the present century, though many good writers describe them as such; overlooking the fact that the country called the *East* has receded as our geographical knowledge has advanced,—just as in England the name *North-umberland* has receded. It means the parts beyond the *Humber;* but not all of them. It does not *now* include Yorkshire. It *did* in the times before the Conquest. *Mutatis mutandis,* this is the case with the *East*-land or *Esthonia.* It *now* denotes East Prussia, Courland, and Livonia, as little as the word *Northumberland* denotes the East, West, and North Ridings of the county most immediate to the *North of the Humber.*

It was at some time between the ninth and twelfth centuries that this limitation of the word *East,* to the present *Esth*onia, took place; a change of power that probably rose out of the growth of the name *Curi* and *Curones.* The *East*-land of King Alfred lies as far west as the Vistula. The *Est*-land of Adam of Bremen lies East of Curland—an *island* in his eyes "maxima illa insula quæ Curland dicitur."—*De Situ Daniæ,* c. 223.

The ancestors of the Esthonians were one of the "nations of the Sitones" (Sitonum gentes) so contemptuously spoken of by Tacitus: "Suionibus *Sitonum* gentes continuantur. Cetera similes, uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Sueviæ finis."—*Germ.* 45.

The name by which the Esthonian designates himself is *Rahwas.* His land is *Ma*-rahwas; *ma* meaning *land.* And this is the case whichever of the two Governments of *Lief*-land or *Esthonia* he belongs to. His numbers are—

| | |
|---|---|
| In Liefland ..... | 355,216 |
| Esthonia ..... | 252,608 |
| Vitepsk ..... | 9,936 |
| Pskov... ..... ..... | 8,000 |
| St. Petersburg ..... | 7,736 |
| | 633,496 |

The *Rahwas* still retain so much of Liefland as to preponderate over the Let. Liefland, too, contains more *Rahwas* than does Esthonia.

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Lets in Livonia ..... | 311,872 |
| —— Rahwas ..... | 355,216 |

The River Salis and the parts about Valk form the boundary; the Rahwas lie north, the Lets south of it.

Of the other Ugrian tongues the Vod and the Finlandish of Finland nearest approach the Esthonian; which falls into two main dialects—that for the country round Dorpt, and that for the country round Reval.

The political history of Esthonia is that of Livonia; with a few differences of detail. Both, so far as they are neither Ugrian nor Lithuanian, are German; after this, Swedish; after this, Russian. Of the two, Esthonia is the more Swedish, the more Russian also; Livonia, the more German.

Both took their conquerors from Germany, their conquerors and lords of the soil; both, their Christianity. The influence of Sweden determined them both to the doctrine of the Reformation; for we are now amongst the Lutheran Ugrians as opposed to the Ugrians of the Greek Church. A common form of feudalism oppresses both Esthonia and Livonia—Courland too. In short, the Ugrian here, and the Lithuanian everywhere, is a serf.

## CHAPTER V.

THE UGRIAN STOCK CONTINUED—THE FINLANDERS OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF FINLAND — TAVASTRIANS — KARELIANS — QUAINS — THE SWEDES OF THE ESTHONIAN ISLANDS.

THE chief disturbing influence that has acted upon the Rahwas of Esthonia and Livonia, within the historical period, has been German. In the Grand Duchy of Finland it has been *Swedish*. What the Knights of the Teutonic Order—the Knights of the Sword—did for the Baltic Provinces, the Swedish King St. Eric and his successors did for the Finlanders. In the earliest Scandinavian Sagas we hear of friendly and unfriendly intercourse between Sweden and Finland. We hear of *Fins* even earlier than this. Tacitus speaks of them. Pliny speaks of them. Ptolemy speaks of them. Procopius and Jornandes speak of the Scrithifinni. The Fins appear on the very limits of the northern world; the Scrithifinni in Scandinavia (Norway and Sweden), the Fenni in the parts beyond Germania and Sarmatia. They appear to the east of the former area, to the north of the latter. I think that the views of the ancient geographers about their Fenni must have been as follows :—

By moving from west to east along the course of the Danube, they reached the country of the Peucini; *i. e.*, the islands at the mouth of that river.

By following the Baltic in the same direction, they came to the country of the Fenni.

Between these two extremes, north of the Peucini and south of the Fenni, lay the land of the Veneti, a vast country full of woods and mountains, and occupied by predatory tribes. This was but imperfectly known, and its area was considerably underrated. At the same time the difference between the Fenni and the Veneti *was* known. So was that between the Veneti and the Germans, and the Fenni and the Germans. It was also known that at either the northern or the eastern end of the Baltic were *Fins*.

But it is by no means certain that this meant the Finlanders of Finland, the ancestors of whom were probably *Sitonian; i. e.*, one of the *Sitonum gentes* mentioned in the last chapter. If so, and if the old *Rahwas* belonged to the same class, the description of the *Sitones* is the description of the Ugrians of the Gulphs of Finland and Bothnia, and that of the *Fenni* the description of some other population.

I imagine this to have been the case, and hold the *Fenni* of Tacitus to have meant the *Laps*:—"Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas; non arma, non equi, non Penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus. Sola in sagittis spes, quas, inopia ferri, ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit. Passim enim comitantur, partemque prædæ petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in

aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur; huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur, quam ingemere agris; illaborare domibus; suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus Deos, rem difficillimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne toto quidem opus esset."—*Germ.* 46.

The text of Tacitus separates these from the Sitones. But why should the Sitones be Finlanders? Because they are said to have been ruled by a woman. Was this a fact? No. Was it a misstatement? Yes. Of what sort? It was a misstatement that might easily arise out of the name of a portion of the population of Finland in the mouth of a Scandinavian informant. The Finlanders of East Bothnia call themselves *Kainu*-laiset, in the singular number *Kainu*-laine. The Latin form of the root *Kain* is *Cajania;* the old Norse, *Kœnir* and *Kvœnir.* As early as the time of Alfred the Norse name was sufficiently current to have found its way into the Anglo-Saxon writings of that royal geographer, and Finland is the land of the *Cvenas,* or *Cvena*-land. But *qvinna* is Swedish for a *woman,* the same word as the English *queen* and *quean,* different in their degrees of courtesy as the two words are. Now, it is by no means improbable that when a nation of *Cvenas* was heard of, a nation of *women* (*qvinnas*) would be suggested. Out of this would come a nation "ruled by a woman" (*queen* or *quean*).

This confusion is not merely a likelihood; it is, in three parts out of four, a fact. The land of the *Sitones,* over which the informants of Tacitus are satisfied with making a woman a ruler, becomes, when we get to Adam

of Bremen, a land of *Amazons*—"hæc quidem insula" (Estland) "terræ *feminarum* proxima narratur."

Again—"circa hæc littora Baltici maris ferunt esse *Amazonas*, quod nunc *terra feminarum* dicitur, quas aquæ gustu aliqui dicunt concipere..... Hae simul viventes, spernunt consortia virorum, quos etiam, si advenerint, a se viriliter repellunt." ..... c. 228.

Such is the history of a blunder; of which there are many to mislead the ethnologist.

At the present moment the *Norwegians call the Laplanders, Fins; the Finlanders, Quains.*

The map before us recognizes the Quains. They are the Finlanders of East Bothnia.

*Quain* is one of the three divisions into which the population of the Grand Duchy of Finland is divided; or, rather, is the name of a subdivision.

The two primary divisions are founded upon the differences of dialect. There are—

1. The Tavastrian, and
2. The Karelian.

The Quains are a branch of the Tavastrians; at any rate, they are more Tavastrian than Karelian.

1. *The Tavastrians.*—The drainage of the rivers that empty themselves into the Gulphs of Finland and Bothnia gives us the area of the Tavastrians. But as all these rivers are short, and run from elevations by no means distant from the sea, the Tavastrian area (including that of the Quains) extends no great distance inland as compared with the Karelian. Tavaste-hus itself lies in the south of Finland, on the range that rises north of the Gulph, just north of the Government of Viborg. Some, however, of the most

favoured parts of the Duchy are Tavastrian; and as the Tavastrians of the parts about Tavaste-hus occupy a locality favourable for defence, it was one of the last parts of Finland to be conquered, and the first to rebel. Both the conquest and reaction, however, are more than 800 years old.

The Tavastrians call themselves *Hämalaiset*, in the singular number *Hamalaine;* and as the first syllable of these words is nearly identical with the name of the *Yam* of Novogorod, it has been suggested that they originated in the parts about the Lake Onega. A difference of dialect is the chief characteristic of the Tavastrians, or Hamalaiset, as opposed to—

2. *The Karelians or Kirialaiset.*—The great block of land, more or less square in outline, and coinciding in respect to its physical geography with the table-land of the Duchy, is the area of the Karelians. Here the surface of the earth lies high, and the rivers empty themselves into innumerable lakes, rather than directly into the sea. The climate, too, is more continental than that of the sea-board. "*Coralli*" (Karelians) "gens paganorum ferocissima, carnibus crudis utens pro cibo" live here.

As the *Yam* were Tavastrian rather than Karelian, the Savakot and Auramoiset were Karelian rather than Tavastrian. Again, the isolate and sporadic Tshud of the Waldai range in the Governments of Tver, Yaroslav, and Novogorod, are called *Kargelane* or *Karelian*. I presume because their real affinities are such. At the same time I do not profess to have seized very clearly the exact import of the distinction between the two branches. I only know that the best authorities seem to lay a good

deal of stress upon it. Even so do some of our English philosophers insist upon the difference between the Angle and the Saxon parts of our own island; whilst classical scholars do the same with the dialects of the Greek. Yet there is less in them than such philologues imagine.

The Finlanders are yellow-haired and brown-haired, rather than black-haired; with grey eyes. In colour they are swarthy, rather than brunette; and light complexioned, rather than swarthy. The skull belongs to the brachy-cephalic (short-headed) class of Retzius, *i. e.*, the class where the diameter from the forehead to the occiput is not so much longer than the diameter from side to side, as it is with the Swedes, the Africans, and the so-called dolicho-cephalic (long-headed) populations. Indeed, the Fin organization has generally been recognized as Mongol—though Mongol of the modified kind. The stature is moderate; the limbs of average strength and vigour. These characters we have seen already amongst the other populations; as we have the moral and mental ones. No great mobility of temper has been met with; nor will it be. The Finlander is sturdy-tempered and churlish, rather than polite, in manners; not inhospitable, but not over-easy of access; no friend of new fashions. Steady, careful, and laborious, he is valuable in the mine; valuable in the field; valuable aboard-ship; and, withal, a brave soldier on land. In the more than creditable—the glorious—wars of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII., the Fin regiments played a conspicuous part.

The Finlanders and the Esthonians are the first Ugrians we have found in possession of a sea-board. For practical purposes, they will be last; the Laps, Samoyeds,

and Ostiaks being in contact with the Arctic Ocean only. They are the first, too, who have come in contact with Europeans more civilized than the Muscovite; with the Swede and the German. So that they represent the civilization of their stock. Herein, the Finlander has the precedence. He has lived a life of national freedom; united with the Swede, rather than subject to him. His civilization is that of Western rather than Eastern Europe. His alphabet is Swedish and Roman, not Russian and Greek; his creed, Lutheran; though there are a few Roman Catholics, and a smaller number of the Greek Church Christians. In the way of intellectual development, Finland stands to Sweden much as Spain and Gaul did to Rome. It has contributed its fair share to the literary credit of the two united countries. On the other hand, the medium has been the Swedish.

There is, however, a proper Fin literature as well; but it bears the same relation to the Swedish that the Welsh does to the English. It will be noticed more at length hereafter.

In more matters than one, the ancient Paganism shews itself through the newer Christianity with the Finlanders and Esthonians more than with any other people of Europe—in other words, their Christianity is the least untinctured with the primitive Heathenism. But the mythology of the Fins will form the subject of a separate chapter.

There is Heathenism, and plenty of it, in the Fin poems—the *Runes*, as they are called. There is Heathenism, too, and plenty of it, in their every-day life. So is there in that of the Esthonians. The

Northern Finlander is a wizard in the eyes of the Southern; the Laplander, a wizard in the eyes of both. There is also—and this is the case with the Laps and Swedes—an extraordinary susceptibility to the influences of religious excitement.

Finland alone contains about half of the whole Ugrian stock, its present Fin population being about a milllion and a half.

There are Finlanders out of Finland; and there are Laps beyond the pale of Russian Lapland. With the exception of the Majiars of Hungary, this is the case with no other Ugrian population. All lie within the realm of Muscovy. But there are Fins in Sweden, and Fins (*Quains* as we must there call them) in Norway. Sometimes they have got thither as settled colonists. Such is the case with the Quains of Finskogen (the Fins-*shaw* or Fins-*wood*) in the parishes of Trysild and Grue, in the districts of Soloers, between Norway and Sweden; oftener, however, there has been a mere extension of frontier. As this is from south to north, and as the more northern parts of Scandinavia are Lap, it is the Laplander that is thus encroached on. This is done in Russian Lapland—in Swedish Lapmark—in Norwegian Finmark. The cow goes with the Fin, the reindeer with the Laplander; and as the former displaces the latter, agriculture encroaches on nomadism. Then, there are intermixtures of blood, to the advantage of the Laps. But the Norwegian and the Swede find a rival in the Finlander, even as the Lap does—even as the English labourer finds one in the Irish. Quain labour is almost essential to the mining industry in the north of Norway.

A taste for song and music, the use of the steam-bath, and a large amount of superstition, characterize the Finlander and the Esthonian.

In respect to the ethnology, it is safe to say that the Esthonian is *in situ, i. e.*, that he is indigenous to Esthonia. No earlier population seems to have preceded him. Not so with the Finlander. For the northern portion of his area, at least, he is generally and reasonably considered to be an intruder—a population akin to the Lap has been the primitive occupant. If so, his direction has been from south to north.

The native name for the Tavastrians and Karelians,—Hämalaiset and Kirialaiset—collectively, is Suomalaiset; from whence *suoma, marsh* or *fen; Suomalaiset,* the *people of the marsh, swamp.*

*Swedes of the Esthonian Islands.*—Just as the towns in the Principality of Wales are more or less English, the towns of Finland are more or less Swedish; indeed, the sea-board altogether is in the same category. The whole of the Åland Archipelago is also Swedish. Though, politically, it was a part of Finland in 1819, it now belongs to Russia. How long it may remain so is another question. Åland, however, is as truly a part of Sweden as the Isle of Wight is of England. The Quain population is represented in the census before me by a cipher. It is not, however, such Swede elements as these that I notice, but the Swedes of the Esthonian Islands—the *Island-Swedes* (*Ösvenskar*) the free Swedish yeomen (*fria Svenska bondar*), as they are called.

In Odensholm they form the whole population. Here no Esthonian finds a resting-place to the sole of his foot,

and (what is better) no German lord rules over a population of serfs. The land and the industry are free. In the other isles this freedom is less perfect, and the Swedish blood less exclusively pure. In all, however, the Swedish language, in well-marked dialects, is spoken, and Swedish manners prevail. The date of these Swedish settlements is uncertain. They are earlier, however, than the 14th century.

As the population is isolated, several old customs, missing in modern Sweden, live amongst them—old customs, old words, old superstitions. Fishing and pilotage are the chief employments. The Esthonian Islands are their chief localities. There are some, however, on the continent, and a few in Liefland—*e. g.*,

| | |
|---|---|
| Swedes in Esthonia ..... | 4,714 |
| —— Liefland ..... | 425 |
| —— Courland ..... | 7 |
| | 5,146 |

To these add, from a distant locality, 168 more. In the Government of Kherson are four small villages; settlements made during the last century from these same Esthonian Swedish islands. There are 6,156 other Swedes in the Government of St. Petersburg, but I imagine that these are newer settlers than the *Ösvenskar* or *Fria Svenskar bondar*.

Finland became Russian in 1809. The Government, however, of Viborg was lost to the Swedes, and won to the Russians, in the reign of Peter the Great.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE UGRIAN STOCK CONTINUED—THE SABME OR LAPS—THE NAME, HABITS, AND RELIGION—ORIGINAL AREA.

THE best name, for the purposes of steady investigation, by which we should denote the Lap, Laplandish, Lapponic, or Lapponian family, is *Sabme* or *Sami*, inasmuch as it is the name by which they designate themselves. It is the *native* name; it is the only native one. The other is foreign—Swedish or Russian, as the case may be. When a Swede talks of a Sabme, he calls him a *Lap;* when a Russian does so, he says *Lopari.* Hence their country of Lap-*land* and the frontier of it that faces Sweden is Lap-*mark*, or the *March of the Laps.* There is nothing very inconvenient in this. That *Sabme* (and not *Lap*) is the native name, and that *Lap* or *Lopari* (and not *Sabme*) are Swedish and Russian designations, is no difficult matter to remember; neither is it important if forgotten or overlooked. But the Sabme of Sweden or Russia are not the only Sabme. There is a large proportion of the family in Norway; in the most northern part of Norway, in Fin-*mark*, or the March of the Fins; in Fin-*mark*, a very different compound from Fin-*land.* What is the import of this name? The population of

Finmark is not that of the Grand Duchy of Finland. It is *Lap* or *Sabme*. Yet the name Lap, so familiar to the Swede and Russian, is unfamiliar to the Norwegian. In the eyes of the Norwegian a Sabme is a *Fin*, and his country *Fin*-mark; so that Finmark in Norway is the the same as Lapmark in Sweden. Throughout Norway, if you talk of Lapland you must say Finmark; if you talk of a Lap you must make him a Fin. To do otherwise is to talk Swedish. But this tends to confusion, inasmuch as the Finlanders of Finland may have to be mentioned. Avoiding this, the Norwegian calls them Quains. Hence a Swedish Lap is a Norwegian Fin, and a Swedish Finlander is a Norwegian Quain, whilst the Lap populations distributed over Norway, Sweden, and Russia, are Fins, Laps, and Loparj. The conditions, however, under which they occur are much the same throughout. The most southern of them are found in Sweden; the most northern, in Norway. The mountaineer branches of them are, also, more Scandinavian (Swedish or Norwegian) than Russian. For the most northern population of Europe their area is favoured in respect to climate; no part of the world equally arctic being so warm—or, rather, so little cold. It is only when we approach the North Cape that we get beyond the region of trees—the birch being found as high as N. L. 70-71; the Scotch fir up to 69-70; and the Spruce fir to 67. The elm, lime, oak, hazel, and alder have, however, long been passed; so has the latitude at which fruit ripens. On the other hand,* as far north as 67, barley ripens at the level of 800 feet. Potatoes, too, pay for cultivation even fur-

* HENFREY'S *Vegetation of Europe*—The Scandinavian Peninsula.

ther north. So do cabbages, turnips, spinach, and carrots. But then it is the Norwegian, the Swede, or the Russian who cultivates them, not the Lap.

The Lap, except so far as he has adopted the industry of his neighbours, is a nomad—essentially so. His country is that of the reindeer-moss, and the reindeer that feeds on it; and, beyond this, it supplies but little in the way of natural vegetation. However, there are streams prolific with salmon;—but the main aliment is the flesh of the reindeer, itself migratory.

The hills of Scandinavian Lapland—the highest of which, Sulitelma, rises to 6,168 feet—decrease as we get into Russia, so that Russian Lapland partakes of the character of Finland, being level and lacustrine—a land of lakes rather than running streams.

The Sabme may fairly be looked upon as the least industrial, and the least civilized population of Christian Europe. They are herdsmen rather than agriculturists; but as their domestic animal, the reindeer, is, still, more or less, migratory and unreclaimed, they are hunters almost as much as they are herdsmen. They are wandering herdsmen, at any rate. The Norwegian of their neighbourhood plants potatoes, the Finlander keeps cows, but the Lap attaches himself to the reindeer, and adapts himself to its habits.

Essentially migratory as they are, the habits of the Sabme have been considerably modified by the influences of the populations with which they come in contact; and it cannot be denied that, upon the whole, the attention bestowed upon them by the different governments under which they live, has been, as things go with the weaker

populations of the world in general, praiseworthy, even if insufficient. I state this with more confidence respecting the Norwegian than the Swedish, and with more confidence respecting the Swedish than the Russian, Laps. I believe, however, that they are not an ill-used population. Their language has been reduced to writing, and that well. As the adapters of the Lap alphabet had no preconceived views in the way of etymology, they have spelt the language as they found it, created new letters when they were necessary, expelled old ones when superfluous, and limited the power of each sign to the expression of a single sound, each sound having also its appropriate sign. The effect of this is, that, other things being equal, a Lap child learns to read easier than another. There are two excellent grammars of their language, Rask's and Stockfleth's; the author of the latter being, in name, a parish priest, but, in reality, as true a missionary as if he had a location in the South Seas, or in Africa. It is from his works that the best information respecting the present condition of the Laps of Finmark is to be found.

The civilization of the more civilized parts of their respective kingdoms has told on the Laps. Their summer dresses are now made up of cloth; and their ornaments are purchased from the Norwegians. Neither is the blood of the Laplander so pure and unmixed as it used to be. Of intermarriage with the Norwegians there is but little, but a great deal with the *Quains*. It is better to say *Quain* than *Fin*, because *Fin* is what the Laps themselves, so long as they belong to the kingdom of Norway and to the district of Finmark, are called.

Hence, Quain is the more convenient word. It means a Finlander from the Grand Duchy of Finland; numbers of whom come, in numerous localities, in contact with the Laps. For instance, they come in contact with them along the whole line of frontier. They come in contact with them in almost every spot where there is a copper-mine; and such spots are numerous.

There is much Quain blood, then, among the Laps.

The Christianity of the Laps is of the same imperfect character with their industry and culture. Nevertheless, they are Christians; though not all of the same denomination. The Russian Laps belong to the Greek Church, the Swedish and Norwegian are Lutheran Protestants. The Lutheran, however, is as Pagan as the Greek, and the Greek as the Lutheran; inasmuch as the original Heathenism of the country still tinges the better creed. In fact, the old creed shews itself through the new, and the Sabme superstitions of the time anterior to Christianity are seen almost as clearly and transparently now as they were seen in the days of their unmodified Paganism. There was not much to get rid of, and of that little more than a fair portion has been retained. There was not much to get rid of, for the Sabme superstitions were simple, and the mythology far from elaborate. Neither does it seem to have been wholly native; at least *one* of their objects of veneration has a Norwegian name. So has another—but this may be explained differently.

The being who has the Norwegian name is the Storjunker, pronounced Stor-yunker; a name which means *great noble*. A full-grown reindeer, with full-sized antlers, used to be the proper sacrifice to the Storjunker. A thread was put through his ear, and this thread had to

be a red one. No other colour would suit the Storjunker's reindeer. When the feast was over, and the flesh had been eaten by the feasters, the antlers were fixed in the ground so as to mark a certain space—a space which was thus made holy; women, most especially, being forbidden to approach it.

Next, amongst the Lap gods, to the Storjunker, was Tiermes. The third was Baiwe. The rites of Tiermes are much the same as those of the Storjunker, but those of Baiwe exhibit a difference in some of their details. The string which is put through the ear of the victim is a *white* one. A red one would be out of place. The reindeer is a *young* one. An old one would be inappropriate. Then, as the young reindeer has no antlers, the sacred enclosures of deers' horn are wanting to the sacrificial grounds of Baiwe, or the *Sun;* for that is the object symbolized.

But there was a deity higher than any of these, who seem to have been mere subordinates. This was Jubmel (pronounced *Yubmel*, and *Yummel*). We are not acquainted with the details of the worship of Yubmel, nor yet with its exact relations to his inferior divinities. We only know that he was highest and holiest of all the Lap gods. We know, too, what is of considerable importance, that throughout the whole long list of populations akin to the Laps the worship of Yubmel was extended. The Finlanders worshipped him in Finland. He was worshipped by the allied populations of the Volga; he was worshipped by the allied tribes of the Uralian mountains. There was, of course, a change in the form of the name, which became *Yumula*, *Yumara*, &c.; and on the eastern side of the White Sea, *Num*. Nevertheless, the deity was the same, and the existence of his worship is (next to

their language) the best characteristic of the class to which the populations alluded to belong.

In one sense the old Lap religion was a religion without a priesthood. There were no roofed temples, no officiating ministers. The head of the family performed his rites himself. His proceedings were as follows: about bow-shot from his tent he chose a convenient piece of ground and marked it out by rows of boughs—of the birch-tree in summer, of the fir in winter. The area within was holy ground; pre-eminently holy, and, like most of the Lap's enclosures, forbidden to females. The path from this to the tent was also marked out by branches. In the centre stood the representative of the deity—of wood or stone, as the case might be; of *wood* for Tiermes, who was thence called the *wooden*, of stone for the Storjunker, who was similarly known as the *stone*, god. Wood and stone were the materials; to which the workmanship was scarcely equal. Indeed, there was none, or next to none. Instead of fashioning an image with his own hands, the Lap thought himself lucky if he found one ready-made, the workmanship of Chance or Nature. Hence, if a birch-tree grew crooked and contorted about the roots, if it were knobby and knotty on the stem, if its branches grew in abnormal clusters, it was looked upon as a deity already represented. The same with stones. Those that were water-worn, rubbed, or drilled into strange shapes, became divinities; or rather, the divinity grew out of the shape of the symbol. If it suggested a bird, the idea of the Storjunker became birdlike; quadrupedal if the likeness were that of a beast. He would, too, be a fish, as often birch-roots grew fish-shaped. The same with Tiermes. He might fly one year, swim the

next, and go upon four legs the third; or, as the sacrifices took place twice a year, he might be a pike at Midsummer, and an otter at Christmas. A piece of reindeer flesh was the offering to him—the heart or liver by preference.

When the worship took a more public character, and approached the form of a festival, the *drum* came in request—the drum being the most important of all the articles in a Laplander's pontifical *apparatus*. This was a skin drawn across a frame of birch-wood; rudely painted with figures of the chief deities. In the middle was fixed a ring with bobbins (much like those used in lace-making) attached to it. The drum is beaten and the bobbin dances about. The beating leaves off and the bobbin lies quiet. The drummer then sees on whose figure it lies. If on that of Baiwe, Baiwe has to be honoured; if that of Tiermes or the Storjunker, it is Tiermes or the Storjunker accordingly.

These are the most specific of the Lap superstitions. That certain wizards have the power of selling favourable winds to sailors is believed not only amongst the Laps themselves, but by the Norwegians, the Swedes, and the Russians of their neighbourhood. The most characteristic perhaps, of their habits or accomplishments, is what we may call by a name coined for the occasion—*she-running*. The *skide* (pronounced *she*) is a snow-skate upwards of six feet long. Up-hill the Lap toils with a stick: down-hill he drives with the rapidity of an arrow.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE UGRIAN STOCK CONTINUED—UGRIANS OF THE VOLGA—THE TSHEREMIS—THE MORDVINS—THE TSHUVASH.

THE three populations that will make the subject of the present chapter, are generally said to constitute the Volga division of the Ugrian stock. Nor is the term very exceptionable. The governments of Viatka, Kostroma, Kazan, Nizhni-novogorod, Orenburg, Penza, Saratov, Simbirsk, and Tambov, are their localities—all on the Volga, none on the Dwina; none on the Dwina like the Siranian *habitats* in Vologda. At the same time the term is not to be taken too exclusively; the Permians and Votiaks, belonging to another division, are nevertheless on the drainage of the Volga.

As this river approaches Kazan, the Russian population gives way to the Turk; for Kazan is a great Turk centre.

The three governments of Kazan, Simbirsk, and Saratov, are the occupancies of three well-marked families—the Tsheremis, the Mordvin, and the Tshuvash.

*The Tsheremis.*—On the left bank, rather than the right, and on the Middle rather than the Lower Volga, we find the Tsheremis—a population scattered and some-

what widely diffused; a population which lies in contact with both the Russians and the Turks, as well as with the Tshuvashes. Nevertheless it keeps itself pretty pure, intermarrying but little with the contiguous populations—rather, however, with the Tshuvash than with the two others. Its true *habitat* is the forest—the oak-tree forest—for we have reached a milder climate and a stronger vegetation—the oak-tree forest, with its underwood of buck-thorn, spindle-tree, and hazel—the oak-tree forest in a strong soil—the oak-tree forest that invests the numerous ridges that form the water-sheds to the feeders of the Volga. Meanwhile, the clearance follows the valleys, the Russian being the pioneer. By this means the once continuous area of the Tsheremis has got broken up, and the Tsheremis occupancies have become separated from each other. Some of them, however, lie sufficiently near the main roads to be visited by the ordinary traveller; so that incidental notices of them are by no means uncommon.

In the villages that Haxthausen visited on the River Sura, there was no doubt as to the Tsheremis complexion. It was dark, unequivocally dark; so dark that, though he looked carefully for a single instance of a light-haired individual, he failed to find one. A dark skin, and long lank dark hair, prevailed, to the exclusion of aught else. Other notices, however, are less simple; and light hair is attributed to them by more than one competent authority. Probably the phenomenon so common with the Ugrian populations repeats itself here, and we have both sorts of complexion and hair in hitherto undetermined proportions, and under conditions that have yet to be

investigated. The stature is middle, the face flat, the beard scanty—the general Ugrian character being manifest.

The Tsheremis have been more nomadic than they are at present; hunters, perhaps, rather than herdsmen, during the earliest period of their history. At present, however, they are agricultural, settled, and more or less industrial. Their villages are said to be smaller than those of the Votiaks and Tshuvash, and perhaps they are more sequestered. At the same time they are regular villages, with the village organization of a head-man or elder for the settlement of disputes, and for their simple legislation. There are houses, too, which approach the Russian standard of comfort, with property on the part of the owners to match. With the Tsheremis of the Sura, the dress scarcely varied with the sex, and white was the prevailing colour, the leggings being black and white in stripes. The manners were reserved and shy, not to say timid.

More frequently the dress of the women is characteristic, just as we have seen it to be among the Votiaks. Indeed, the details in the two divisions are not unlike; the cap is made more or less of the birch-tree bark, and the cap is the most characteristic part of the whole costume.

The great Votiak festival was that of the *Keremet;* and the *Keremet* is the great Tsheremis one. Then it is that there are meetings under the ordinance of a priest in the holier parts of the forest, when offerings of animals are made to the bad, of flowers to the good, demons. The following is a Tsheremis song: observe the name Yuma.

1. May God give health and happiness to him who offers a sacrifice.

2. To the children who come into the world, give, O Yuma, plenty of good things, gold, bread, cattle, and bees.

3. During the new year make our bees to swarm and give much honey.

4. Bless our chase after birds and after beasts.

5. Give us our fill of gold and silver.

6. Make us, O Yuma, masters of all the treasures buried in the earth, all over the world.

7. Grant that in our bargains we may make three times the value of our goods.

8. Enable us to pay our tribute.

9. Grant that, at the beginning of the spring, our three sorts of cattle may find their ways back by three different paths, and that we may keep them from bears, from wolves, and from robbers.

10. Make our cows with calf.

11. Make our thin kine fatten for the good of our children.

12. Enable us with one hand to sell our barren cows, and with the other to take the money.

13. Send us, O Yuma, a true and trusty friend.

14. When we travel far, preserve us, O Yuma, from bad men, from sickness, from fools, from bad judges, and from lying tongues.

15. As the hop grows and throws out its scent, so, O Yuma, grant that we wax strong through goodness, and smell sweet from reason.

16. As the wax sparkles in burning, so let us, O Yuma, live in joy and health.

17. Let our existence be as calm and regular as the cells of a honeycomb.

18. Grant, O Yuma, that he who asks may obtain the object of his prayer.

When this prayer is finished, the head, heart, lungs, and liver are offered up to the deity to whom it is

addressed; another prayer being said by the officiating minister alone. Then they eat and pray again. This is kept on for three days. When all is over, the bones, entrails, and such parts of the sacrifices as have not been consumed, are burnt, the fire having never been allowed to go out during the whole festival.

Though he delights in the flesh of the horse, the Tsheremis abominates that of the hog; and this even where his habits are unwarped by any influence from his Tartar neighbours.

The price that a Tsheremis pays for his bride—and, as polygamy is allowed, he may pay it for several—is called *Olon*. The Votiak word was *Yerdon*.

The Tsheremis Christianity is imperfect and inchoate.

Schubert makes the Tsherimis population amount to 200,000. If so, they are on the *de*crease; since the numbers of the map before us are—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the Government of | Viatka | 75,450 |
| —— | Kazan | 71,375 |
| —— | Kostroma | 3,357 |
| —— | Nizhni-Novogorod | 4,330 |
| —— | Orenburg | 2,626 |
| —— | Perm | 7,938 |
| | | 165,076 |

Viatka is the government where the Tsheremis are the most numerous. Besides this they are found in both Perm and Kostroma, where there are no Tshuvashes and no Mordvins. Hence, they are the most northern of the Ugrians of the Volga.

It is the Russians who use the name Tsheremiss; to the Tsheremis himself it is strange. *He* calls himself

*mari*, a *man*, as so many other populations do. The Tshuvash he calls *Kurk*-mari, *Hill*-man.

There is no shadow of evidence that favours the notion of the Tsheremis being other than an old indigenous population—indigenous and aboriginal to the forests in which it now occurs. It is the populations around that are recent, the Turk and the Russian, if not the Tshuvash. The Tsheremis area may have extended, at one time, further eastward; further northward also. It may have reached the Uralian mountains, and have been conterminous with the occupants of the gold districts. These occupants of the gold districts may have belonged to the more southern branches of the Ostiaks. What if they were? This will be considered in the sequel, when these same Ostiaks have been noticed. At present I commit myself to the idea that, name for name, the modern word *Tsheremis* is the ancient word *Arimaspi*.

This assumes two changes.

First, The ejection of the final *p*.

Secondly, The initial change from the simple vowel *a* to the compound sibilant *tsh*.

Are these likely? They are not unlikely. The accounts that the old writers got of the Arimaspi were not got first hand. They were got from the Greeks of the Euxine, who got them from some interjacent population. Now, these were numerous; since Herodotus speaks of seven interpreters being required for the seven languages of Scythia. *Some* change, then, in the form of a strange proper name passing through more than one medium, is eminently probable. Whether the exact change assumed be legitimate, is another question. Its fuller discussion is reserved.

*The Mordvin.*—If we look only to the geographical relations of the Tsheremis and Tshuvash, we shall take the two populations in immediate order to each other, the Tsheremis first, and the Tshuvash next, or *vice versa*. This is because their areas join. In many cases their villages are intermixed, so that in certain districts there is a kind of joint occupancy. Upon the whole, however, the Tshuvash keep to the *right* rather than the *left* bank of the Volga.

But the ethnological affinity is not so close (at any rate, not so clear) as the geographical. There are some important points of difference between their languages. For this reason the Mordvin will be treated first. They are more unequivocally Ugrian than the Tshuvash, and consequently, more undoubtedly akin to the Tsheremis; although they lie further from them than do the Tshuvash.

The Mordvin are the most southern of all the Ugrian tribes that lie *in situ*. By this I mean all who are *old* occupants of their present areas. The Majiars of Hungary are not in this predicament.

The Mordvin, then, are the most Southern tribes that lie *in situ*.

They fall into three divisions:—

*a*. The Ersad, on the R. Oka.

*b*. The Mokshad, on the R. Sura.

*c*, The Karatai, in the neighbourhood of Kazan.

Their dialects are two—the Ersad and the Mokshad. I cannot say to which of these the Karatai belongs.

The name Mordvin is native; *i. e.*, they call themselves so. It is the Tsheremis word *Mari*, under another form, but with the same meaning, *i. e.*, *Man*. It is the Permian and Siranian and Votiak *m-rt*.

They are somewhat larger-sized than the Tsheremis, or rather the Tsheremis are described as being smaller than the Mordvin; their beards are thin; faces flat; hair brown rather than black; often red—oftener, however, with the Ersad than with the Mokshad.

Schubert puts their numbers at 92,000. If so, they are greatly on the increase, since the numbers on the map before us are—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| For the Government of | Astrakan ..... | 48 |
| —— | Kazan..... | 14,867 |
| —— | Nizhni Novogorod... | 53,383 |
| —— | Orenburg ..... | 5,200 |
| —— | Penza ..... | 106,025 |
| —— | Samar..... | 74,910 |
| —— | Saratov ..... | 78,010 |
| —— | Simbirsk ..... | 98,968 |
| —— | Taurida ..... | 340 |
| —— | Tambov ..... | 48,491 |
| | | 480,242 |

The order, then, of the Governments in which the Mordvins are numerous, is Penza, Simbirsk, Saratov, Samar, Nizhni Novogorod, Tambov, Kazan, Orenburg; there being none in Viatka, and comparatively few in Kazan. Assuredly their occupancy is, at one and the same time, the most southern and the most western of all the Ugrians. In Taurida and Astrakhan they are, probably, recent settlers.

The Mordvins are, for the most part, Christians. At the same time the old Paganism shews through the

newer creed. The name of their chief heathen deity is *Paas* amongst the Ersad; *Shkai* amongst the Mokshad.

*The Tshuvash.*—It has already been stated, that, in respect to their geographical position, the Tshuvash lie nearer to the Tsheremis than do the Mordvins. This, at least, is the evidence afforded by their distribution over the following six governments:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Kazan | 300,091 |
| Simbirsk | 84,714 |
| Samar | 29,926 |
| Orenburg | 8,353 |
| Saratov | 6,853 |
| Viatka | 17 |
| | 429,954 |

There are none, then, in Perm, few in Viatka, the northern localities of the Tsheremis; none in Kostroma, none in Nizhni Novogorod, their western occupancies.

Then, as compared with the Mordvins, there are none in Penza, none in Tambov, comparatively few in Saratov. Their centre seems to be Kazan, in the direction of Simbirsk; just as the centre of the Tsheremis was Kazan, in the direction of Viatka; and the centre of the Mordvins, Penza. In Kazan they are nearly as numerous as the Tartars or Turks, whose numbers are 308,574.

Schubert reckoned the Tshuvash at 370,000. If so, they have increased.

I cannot account for the name. It is not native. Vereyal, Khirdiyal, and Vyres are the designations by which the Tshuvash denote themselves. According to

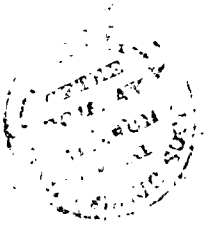
Müller the Russians call them *Vyress* as well. Yet *Tshuvash* is the name of the map before me. The Tsheremis (as aforesaid) call them *Kurk-Mari—hill-men;* and the Mordvins, *Wiedke (Udi).*

The language is the point wherein the Tshuvash and Tsheremis chiefly differ; the language, which equally separates the Tshuvash and Mordvins. The language, too, raises the only difficulties that arise in the question as to the ethnological affinities of the Tshuvash. Their language has been considered Ugrian; and, as far as the present writer can form an opinion, it is so. At the same time, it stands in Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta as *Turk,* and many good works besides.

Supposing it, however, to be Ugrian, it is more Turk than any other of the allied forms of speech; more Turk than the Tsherimis or Majiar. This is a statement which I take as I find; and lay it before the reader without pretending to explain; without even saying in what the Turk affinities consist. They may be in the words rather than the grammar, or in the grammar rather than in the words. They may be as the Norman elements are in English; or they may lie in points essential to the structure of the language, and so resemble the Anglo-Saxon part of the English. One thing, however, is worth remembering; *viz.,* that if the Tshuvash be a language intermediate and transitional to the Turk stock on one side and the Ugrian on the other,—as much Ugrian as Turk, and as much Turk as Ugrian,—it presents a very unusual phenomenon in comparative philology. Such transitions, common as they may be under an *à-priori* point of view, are eminently rare. We should scarcely suppose that they would

be so; but so they are. Forms of speech belonging to one and the same class often graduate into each other. Still oftener do dialects of the same language. But with great classes, like the German (for instance) and the Sarmatian, or like the Sarmatian (for instance) and the Latin, there are no truly transitional and intermediate forms of speech—no language of which the position is equivocal or ambiguous. Everything belongs to either one class or the other. Nothing remains unplaced or undistributed. The most that can be said is, that some outlying dialect of one group approaches some similar outlyer of the other; that a certain form of speech is more (say) Sarmatian, than the other members of the German class—or *vice versâ*. This is not uncommon. The really uncommon phenomenon is the existence of a language so intermediate in character as to be equivocal in respect to its position. Yet this the Tshuvash is said, by competent judges, to be.

If so, what follows? Even this—a reason for enlarging the class; for throwing the Turk and Ugrian groups under some common denomination. This is by no means unlikely. On the contrary, there are several phenomena that seem to demand it.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE VOGULS AND OSTIAKS.

WE pass now from the Ugrians of Europe to those of Asia; the Uralian range of mountains and the River Ural, or Dzhaik (Jaik), being the lines of demarcation which separate the two continents. This boundary is more natural in its northern than its southern parts—and that in respect both to its physical geography and its ethnology.

The ordinary names for the Ugrian populations of the northern Ural, and the lower parts of the great Asiatic river which waters the country on its eastern foot (the Obi), for a population which extends from the borders of the Siranian country to the Yenisey, are *Vogul* and *Ostiak;* Vogul for the mountain tribes of the West, Ostiak for the river-populations of the East; Vogul for the men of the Ural, Ostiak for those of the Obi and Yenisey.

Neither of these names, however, is native. It is the Russian who uses them; the former being probably taken from the Siranians, the latter from the Bashkirs. But the Siranians called the Voguls *Yograyess* as well. *Mansi* is what they call themselves; it is also the name which they extend to their Ostiak neighbours.

*The Mansi or Voguls.*—The Mansi or Vogul area, bounded on the north by the Sosva, a feeder of the Lower, and on the south, by the Tura and Tawda, feeders of the Upper, Obi, coincides pretty closely with the ridge of the northern Ural, or the watershed between the Irtish and Obi on the east, the Petshora and Dwina on the west, and the Kama on the south. The Permians and Siranians are conterminous with the Voguls. Their country makes them, at one and the same time, hillmen and foresters; for they lie within the northern limit of the fir and birch, in the country of the wolf, the bear, the sable, the glutton, the marten, the beaver, and the elk. Their country, too, makes them hunters; for there are no wide plains to encourage the breeding of flocks and herds, and no climate for the growth of the cereals. The conditions of the northern parts of Sirania and Permia have become more and more unfavourable for industry. Hence, the Voguls, compared with any of the tribes that lie south of them, are a comfortless, undersized, ill-developed population; who, if they contrast favourably with the Lap and Samoyed, shew to a disadvantage by the side of the Finlander or the Siranian. Their villages are smaller than those of the Tsheremis; and a little reflection will shew us, that the size of the village gives a fair measure of the well-being of the population that occupies it. From four to eight cabins constitute a Vogul one, and these lie from ten to fifteen miles apart; the forest lying between—without roads, and with but few clearings. Game is the chief sustenance; and for the production of it the forest has to be kept wild. To this extent are the Voguls a hunter-population; for it is only in the southern parts of their

area that the signs of settled life appear. A little tillage and a little cattle appear as we approach the Bashkir frontier—the Bashkir habits being partially adopted. The Bashkir, however, is himself, but half agricultural.

The winter-hut of the Vogul—the Okon—is small, close, and smoky; the summer-cabin is made of the boughs and rind of the birch-tree. These are raised or pulled down as the necessities of the chase require; as one locality must be exchanged for another.

The Vogul hunts on foot. He has no pastures for horses; and the boggy, woody tracts under his occupancy, are ill adapted for the use of them. Even the dog is a rare companion. On the other hand, a few cows may constitute the property of one of the wealthier proprietors. The elk, however, is the chief beast for sustenance, and the sable for trade. The reindeer is less abundant; and it is in the skin of the elks, amongst ruminants, that their tribute of peltry is paid. The flesh is dried, not salted; cut into strips and dried in the open air, so that a kind of *pemmican* is made of it.

The Vogul uses the gun as well as the bow; and he is skilful in the contrivance of traps and pitfalls. He fishes, too, as well as hunts. For hunting, his best month is November. This is when the animals have their full winter fur about them. Obdorsk, at the mouth of the Obi, a factory rather than a town, is the Vogul trading-town. Thither he resorts with his skins, berries, and such-like small articles of barter. The Samoyeds and Ostiaks resort there also. Pallas (and I believe other observers) speaks to the fact of the Voguls wholly dispensing with the use of salt. Berries they have, but no vegetables; and they

chew the turpentine of the larch; but they use no salt, and enjoy good health notwithstanding. They are said to be healthy, but neither long-lived nor strong; and of all the Ugrians of the forest-districts (as contrasted with those of the tundras) they have a physiognomy that most approaches that of the typical Mongol. The hair is black or brown—seldomer yellow, or red; the beard scanty, the face feminine; the skin glabrous and pale. The cheekbones project, and, as the face is generally described as flat and broad, the zygomata curve laterally outwards. From this, Maltebrun has allowed himself to draw the wholly gratuitous inference of their being a Mongolian population, that has been conquered by the Hungarians and had a Ugrian form of speech thrust upon them:—"Les Wogouls ne sont probablement qu' une peuplade Kalmouque, anciennement subjuguée par les Hongrois, et à laquelle ceux-ci, auront imposé de force leur langue. (*Maltebrun, Précis de la Géographie Universelle,* tom. vi., p. 443.)

As early as 1741, the Swedish traveller Schönström remarked that their language was akin to the Fin. He also stated that he had heard from some of themselves that their original locality lay west of their present, *i. e.*, on the Yug and the Dwina; so that their ancestors had moved from west to east. This is likely. They are a population easily encroached upon; and as the line of demarcation between them and their neighbours, is broader and more definite in the direction of Perm and Vologda than on that of the Obi; as they are less like the Siranians than they are to the Ostiaks; the natural

probabilities of a displacement of some of them on the western side of the Ural is increased. It is not, however, to be imagined that the ancestors of the present mountaineers were driven from the lower country into their present area. On the contrary, they have every appearance of being indigenous to the Uralian ranges. Their dialects are numerous and well marked, and indicate a long lapse of time for their development. Hence the criticism of the Vogul localities should be that of the Caucasian populations—that of the Welsh —that of the Basks of the Pyrenees—that of the Siaposh of Kaferistan—that of nine out of ten mountaineer populations all over the world; and it should be held that they are the remains of a population which was once spread over the lower country, around and about; but of which the more accessible and ill-defended portions have been swept away—the remainder being preserved by the impracticable character of their country. This, I say, is the truer view of mountaineer populations in wild localities; yet it is not the usual one. The far more prevalent doctrine assumes the bodily movement of a retreating population; of a population receding from the lower lands to the higher; of a shelter-seeking in the mountains. It is in this way that the Welsh are supposed to represent the Britons of (perhaps) some midland county that "retreated to the mountains," (as the saying is,) on the access of the Romans, instead of so many aborigines of Merioneth and Cardigan. It is in this way that the Basks of the Pyrenees are represented to be Spaniards who "retreated to the mountains." Now, such retreats are rare phenomena: in

most cases there has been no populational locomotion whatever; no transfer from one level to another; no change of place at all. There has been merely the circumscription of a circumference; the central parts being left untouched.

The present Voguls, then, are *in situ*. At the same time their further extension westward is probable. So is their further extension southwards; as will be seen in the sequel. It is more, indeed, than probable. The prolongation in a southern direction of the area of a population more or less Vogul in its ethnological affinities is an ethnological necessity. But this (as aforesaid) will be brought under notice hereafter.

In Schubert's tables the number of the Voguls is about 100,000. The map before us gives only those of European Russia; in other words, those of the Government of Perm, the only European one which contains any. None seem to belong to Vologda, none to Archangel. Now, the Voguls of European Russia, the Voguls of the Government of Perm, amount to no more than 872. What proportion these bear to those of the Obi and the other Trans-uralian districts, I cannot say. In respect to the other populations of the Government of Permia, the Voguls stand at the botom of the list of Ugrians, which is as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Permians ..... | 47,605 |
| Tsheremis ..... | 7,935 |
| Voguls .... ..... | 872 |
| | 56,412 |

44909

The further we move northwards, the wilder do we find the Voguls. In the southern part of their area they partake of the habits of the Bashkir and the Russian. Along the Tura and the Tawda they exercise an imperfect agriculture, speak Russian as well as Vogul, and have been partially converted to Christianity, partially and indifferently.

A measure of the *exertions* of the Vogul missionaries, we find in the fact of the Vogul language being the most imperfectly known of all the western tongues of Ugria. It is the only one for which we have no grammatical sketch. It may, however, resemble the Ostiak sufficiently to make this unnecessary; though Müller states that the two languages are mutually unintelligible.

Of their *success*, we get the measure in the amount of the Vogul paganism still existent. In the south it may, possibly, be the exception. In the north it is the rule. Its general character closely approaches that of the Laplanders. The priest is the head of the family; success in hunting, the chief object of their prayers. To this end, the carven image of the god takes the form of the beast under pursuit, being sable-shaped, elk-shaped, or bear-shaped, according as the bear, the elk, or the sable is the more especial object. Near a hunting-lodge on the Sosva, is the rude image of an elk, carved by an unknown hand out of stone, an image of some antiquity. This the Voguls visit from considerable distances, and invoke its favour during their expeditions. I take the account from Müller, who specially says that it is "rough-hewn out of stone." The analogy, however,

of the Lap mythology, makes it probable that it is a natural piece of rock, whereof the shape is elk-like enough to suggest the comparison. However, offerings are made to it by its visitors. Other figures are in the human form; and of these some are of metal, iron, or copper. It is in certain holy places where they are found; fixed in the clefts of a rock or tree; raised on poles stuck in the ground—the ground being the most elevated spot about. On one of the numerous streams called *Shatanka*, is a holy cavern, on the floor of which are found bones, the remains of Vogul offerings—bones and rings of Russian workmanship, but of Vogul consecration.

Observe the name *Shatanka*. It comes from *Satan*, a name which we expect amongst Jews and Mahometans rather than amongst Shamanistic Voguls. Amongst them, however, we find it, and that abundantly. So we do amongst the Tsheremis and Tshuvash; whilst amongst the Voguls of Perm, the southern members of the group, we find the Tsheremis and Tshuvash *Keremets*, and its accompanying ceremonies. These are called the *Torom Saktadag;* the latter word being allied to the name for priest, which is *Sakta*-taba. *Torom*, on the other hand, is the name of a god whose residence is in the sun or moon; a god whose name appears in all, or nearly all, of the other Ugrian mythologies. *Yelbola* is the name of the feast of Torom; probably the same word as the Finlandish *Yumala*, and the Lap *Yubmel*—and with the feast of Yelbola the Vogul year begins.

*The Ostiaks.*—It is, perhaps, safe to say that the

Vogul is a European Ostiak, the Ostiak an Asiatic Vogul, the chief difference being the mountaineer and fluviatile character of their respective areas; for that of the Ostiak is the valley of the Obi, reaching, in some cases, across the water-shed, to the Yenisey.

The Vogul was a hunter rather than a fisher; the Ostiak is a fisher rather than a hunter—a fisher in fresh water rather than in the sea. This is a habit of which we have not seen much, the combination of an Arctic climate and a *large* river flowing northwards being one which has not yet been met with. There were fishers amongst the Laps; but the Lap rivers were insignificant in point of size, and the country around supplied the reindeer in sufficient abundance to make it the chief means of sustenance. Besides which, the Lap domesticates the reindeer, which the Ostiak does but slightly. Like the fisher Lap, the Ostiak has a summer and a winter residence; the former moveable, the latter fixed; the former tent-like, the latter aspiring to the name of hut. In the *Tshum*—a Tungusian name adopted by the Russians for the summer dwelling of the Ostiak—a few poles are placed in the ground and slanted towards each other at the top, pyramid-fashion. Round this is made a sort of wall of boughs and birch-bark, much after the fashion of the Vogul and Lap huts. The winter cabin is made of timber—square in shape, and often half sunk in the soil, with sods of turf for the roofing-tiles. But as these are of more elaborate workmanship, they are only joint occupancies; and three, four, or half-a-dozen families may tenant them—with a sum total, of perhaps, thirty individuals, of all ages, both sexes, and an utter

disregard, if not an absolute distaste, for cleanliness. The stench of the Ostiak winter cabin is described as insupportable to any but the Ostiak, the Samoyed, or the Lap. Fish and smoke equally, along with tobacco, which the Ostiak loves to swallow rather than inhale, contribute to it.

The women are partially tattooed, a habit we meet with for the first time. I am not aware that any other of the western Ugrians practise such a custom, though a few Turks used to do, and more than one tribe of Tungusians do so now.

Salt is scarce amongst them, so that the fish of the Ostiak, like the flesh of the Vogul, is either dried or frozen. And summer is the time for fishing. There is, then, abundance, and over-abundance; enough for the Ostiak's own consumption; enough for drying for winter's use; enough for the numerous dogs that draw the sledges; enough for use, and enough for barter. As the autumn advances, the river-bank is exchanged for the woods, and companies prepare themselves, at the first fall of snow, with long snow-skates, like those of the Laplander, and sledges, that their dogs will have to draw for long expeditions into the forests in search of bears, foxes, sables, or squirrels. The whole clothing is now of reindeer-skin, doubled, so as to have the hair both inside and out. And this is the dress of many of the Russians as well; so protective is it against the sharp and piercing blasts of a Siberian winter.

Undersized, like the Lap and Vogul, the Ostiak is deficient in muscular strength; deficient, too, in bodily activity; though, at the same time, tolerant of

cold, hunger, and hardship. In youth he suffers but little from disease; though, as he grows older, he gets liable to scorbutic and cutaneous ailments. He is, probably, not long-lived. Thin in the arms and legs, flat in the suborbital part of the face, he is small-boned, red-haired, simple-minded, good-tempered, and hospitable; easily taken-in in his dealings with the Russian traders of Beresov and Obdorsk. Of these two towns—if the latter may be honoured with the appellation—Beresov is the great Ostiak emporium, and the whole neighbourhood of Beresov is Ostiak. In Obdorsk there is a business with the Voguls and Samoyeds as well.

The frontier populations to the Ostiaks are the two populations last mentioned, certain populations of the Yenisey, and the northern Turks of Siberia. To one of these Turkish and Siberian Khanates (that of Isker), the Ostiaks were originally subject, though, also, under the rule of their own petty chieftains; petty chieftains, but the representatives of an Ostiak nobility. Of these, a few descendants still remain, more or less respected by the plebeian families of their districts, but by no means in easy circumstances. They have to hunt, and fish, and work for their living, just like the others.

The rule that applied to the Vogul applies to the Ostiak. The further they lie north, the lower their civilization. The dialects, too, are said to run south and north, the former being more mixed with the Russian and Bashkir, the latter with the Samoyed. Müller makes them two in number. Castrén, however, who

is a better authority, makes three divisions, one of which he sub-divides. The first is that of the river Irtish, the one which he has more especially represented in his grammar. The second and third are those of the neighbourhoods of Surgut and Obdorsk, the former varying for the parts over and above the city.

The Voguls, who call themselves *Mansi*, call the Ostiaks *Mansi* also; so that the Voguls, at least, draw no very broad distinction between their neighbours and themselves. *Ostiak* was first used by the Siberian Turks, from whom the Russians have adopted it. They have adopted and extended it; since some of the Samoyeds, as well as those tribes whom Klaproth calls Yeniseians, are similarly designated *by the Russians*. The Samoyeds called them *Thahe*. We have not yet come to the native names. Three of these are found in Müller, applied by different portions of the Ostiak population to themselves. So that, in all probability, they have no general or collective denomination. The first of these names is *Kondikho*, the term for the Ostiaks of the Konda; the second, *Tyu-kum* (or *morass-men*); the third, *As-jach* (*river-men*). The last of these is, probably, *Ostiak* in its native form; in which case the name of a particular division has been extended to the whole group, just as, according to Tacitus, the name *German*, which originally designated the tribe of the Tungri, eventually meant all the populations, really or probably, closely or remotely, geographically or ethnologically, politically or socially, allied to them.

Schubert gives 100,000 as the number of the Ostiaks; Köppen, 18,840 for the Government of Tobolsk only.

But (as has been already stated) the district of Beresov is their chief area. Of this I have seen no census. The Ostiak country lies beyond the statistics of the tables before us, although, in the map, part of their country is marked out. The traditions as to their origin coincide with those of the Voguls, and point to the western side of the Uralians, to the parts about the Kama and its feeders; whence, in the latter half of the fourteenth century, the ancestors of the present Ostiaks descended upon the banks of the Obi. I interpret this to mean that they were, at one time, extended so much further westwards; the present Ostiaks, in my mind, lying *in situ*.

The palmary and primary fact in their ethnology rests upon this view. Of all the Ugrian tribes the Majiars of Hungary are the most prominent in history; and of all the undoubted Ugrian localities, the southern frontier of the Ostiak and Vogul area is the nearest to the northern frontier of the Majiars—of the Majiars in the original Asiatic *habitat*.

Again, of all the Ugrian languages, the Ostiak is likest the Majiar.

The same applies to the mythologies. The Majiars are Christians, and have long been so; but there is no Ugrian population in which the Christianity is sufficiently complete to have effaced all traces of the original paganism. It may be added that there is no population —Ugrian or non-Ugrian—where it is so. Hence, the old Majiar paganism shews through the later creed; and (when this is the case) the existing paganism of the Ostiaks best illustrates it. *Oerdik*, the Majiar *Devil*, is

the Ostiak *Ortik*, an evil demon also. In respect to the ceremonies and offerings, the Lap forms of worship repeat themselves amongst the Ostiaks. There are the same household idols, the same holy rocks, the same consecrated spots of forest or woodland.

In certain conspicuous places there are large-sized idols, famous amongst which are the *Ortlonk* and the *Slataya baba*. The name of the former is Ostiak, and means *king of idols*. He stood at *Lonkpugl—the idol village*, not far from the junction of the Irtish and Obi. A male figure, of no great size, and roughly carved out of wood, was this same Ortlonk, with two female images near him. When the priest consulted him, offerings of skins or animals were laid before him. It was believed that he had been brought from Permia, but the belief was, probably, inferential. There were similar images in that country, and a hypothetical migration best accounted for the similarity in the minds of such rude speculators as first instituted comparisons upon those points, wherein the Ugrians of the two sides of the Uralian range agreed. The inference then took the garb of a tradition; most traditions being but inferences in disguise.

The *Slataya baba*, or *golden old woman*, we only know from its Russian name and the notice of Herberstein. It stood on the Lower Obi—"*Slata baba, i.e., aurea anus* idolum est ad Obi ostia in provincia Obdora in ulteriore ripa situm." (*Rerum Muscovitarum Comment.*, p. 82.) This may be as much Samoyed as Ostiak.

Another image, known to the Kosaks who conquered

these parts, stood on the Konda. It was of gold or gilded, and was said to have come from Russia, where it was called Christ. This, too, was brought into the Ostiak country from the western side of the Ural, or said to be so brought.

Upon a holy Ostiak locality, whether wood or clearing, rock or stream, whether hallowed because it had been the scene of a successful chase, or because an idol had stood there, or because an eagle had built many years successively on one of its trees, was placed a kind of *tabu*. Grass was not mown from it, nor wood cut, nor game nor fish taken. Even a draught of water to a thirsty hunter was forbidden.

Erman's account is the same in substance, though with a confusion of names; *e.g.*, his *Long* is an idol or deity in general, rather than any one specially.

The carved part of the image of *Ortik* is a bust, a bust only, a bust without a trunk; as is usual with the other Ostiak deities. The body is a stuffed sack, the face is a plate of metal hammered over it. Two linen sleeves are sewn on for arms. It is placed on a table, and a sword and spear laid beside it. *Jelan* has an image like Ortik's, only his head is more peaked. This is the god in whose honour the war-dance is performed. Sometimes his vestments are made of black dog-skin. *Long* is a sort of Mercury. The Russians call him *the master*. Every art is under his patronage, medicine most especially. The characteristic of the offering to Long lies in the fact of its never being in the shape of the raw material. There must be work in it of some sort. Furs are especially excluded. *Long* wears the girdle aforesaid,

which is kept as covered with ornaments as it can be. *Meik* bears the blame when the Ostiak loses his way in the snow, or when anything equally untoward befalls him. His image is dressed in beaver-skins.

## CHAPTER IX.

THE SAMOYEDS—BUT LATELY RECOGNIZED AS UGRIAN—THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN BRANCHES—THEIR PAGANISM—THE YENESEIANS OF KLAPROTH—THE YUKAHIRI.

THE Samoyeds of Russia in Europe are found only in the Government of Archangel, where their numbers, according to the map before us, amount to no more than 4,495. Small, however, as this population is, it is nearly double that of the Laps; the Laps of Archangel being 2,289. The Siranians of the Government amount to 6,958, and the Karelians to 11,228.

The Karelians, in fact, are the chief Ugrian population; but they are not the oldest and most aboriginal. They have encroached from the South, their direction being north and north-west; so that the Laps have been displaced by them, rather than the Samoyeds.

The Lap lies to the north of the Karelians, the Samoyed surmounts (so to say) the Siranians; the area of the former being to the west, that of the latter to the east, of Archangel. So that the Dwina and the White Sea form the lines of demarcation. Climate for climate, and soil for soil,

the Lap is somewhat the more favoured of the two. As we move eastward the tree-limit recedes southwards, until in the central parts of Siberia it reaches its southern extremity. The reindeer, too, is either more abundant or more easily domesticated, in the Lap districts—especially in those of Scandinavia. The Lap has more of the forest than the *tundra*, the Samoyed more of the *tundra* than the forest. On the other hand his rivers are larger, and probably more productive of fish.

If the northern Samoyed have a worse country than the Lap, he has a better neighbourhood; *i. e.*, his frontagers on the south leave him more at liberty and encroach upon him less. The southern frontier of the Lap continually recedes. So does the eastern. The Norwegian presses on him; the Russian presses on him; the Finlander, whether Quain or Karelian, presses on him. He is continually getting straitened; and for a nomade, whose wealth lies in his reindeer, the want of ample space is the want of sufficient sustenance. The Samoyed has the Vogul and the Ostiak for his neighbours, and further eastwards the Tungusian, who, by the way, presses upon him somewhat closely. So do the Siberian Turks upon the Southern Samoyeds. But the Samoyed of Archangel and Beresov, the Samoyed of the Petshora and the Obi, has his area comparatively free and uncircumscribed. I cannot find that the Lap and Samoyed come in contact. The Russians and Karelians, who follow the course of the Dwina towards Archangel, separate them. Originally, the case was different; so that when each family occupied its whole area, the eastern boundary of the one was probably the western of the other. But even this may not

have been the earliest state of things. The Laps, instead of lying to the west of the Samoyeds, may at first have been their neighbours on the north—since reasons will be given for believing that the last-named population, like the Finlanders and Karelians, lay originally in the south, and, from the south, moved northwards.

The word *Samoyed* is one which has given rise to some astonishing etymologies, and to erroneous impressions in the way of ethnology not a few. In the first place it has taken the form *Samo-gedi*, which is very like the name of the Lithuanian *Samogitæ*, or *Samogitians*. There are the elements of confusion here. Then it gets a German comment upon it, based upon the notion that its meaning is to be sought in the German languages, where *ged* may be supposed to represent the English word *eat*, and where *sam* is the English word *same*.* Then *same* is further supposed to mean *self*. So that *Samogedi* or *Samoyeds* are *Self-eaters*, or (by extension of the meaning of the word *self*) *eaters of their kind, cannibals*. Hence, Herberstein allows himself to write thus:—"Ultra Petzora fluvium ad montem Camenipojas, item mare insulasque vicinas, sunt variæ et innumeræ gentes, quæ uno ac communi nomine Samoged (quasi diceres *se ipsos comedentes*) nuncupantur." (*Rer. Muscovit. Comment.*, p. 81.)

The real history I believe to be as follows:—Its meaning is to be sought in the Ugrian tongues, probably in the Karelian form of the Fin, or, perhaps, in the Siranian; these two dialects being spoken between the

* The Slavonic tongues give us the same elements; viz., *samo, self*, and *yea, eat*.

Samoyed frontier and the Russian. This is *fen, marsh, morass,* or *swamp*—the latter being an English form of the same root, though how it came into our language is a difficult question. It was applied by the Karelians or Siranians, to the country occupied by their Samoyed neighbours, and taken up from the Karelian or Siranian by the Russians, from whom it spread over the learned world of Europe at large. If this be true, it is the same root that appears in the name *Suomelaiset,* and *Sabme, Fin,* and *Lap.* More than this: it is the same word as *Samogitia,* distant as the latter locality is from the *Samoyeds;* since a case may be made out for believing the word to be Lithuanic, only in the way that such a name as *Britain* is English, *i. e.,* not at all. As *Britain* belonged to the language of a population, occupant of a given locality, anterior to the Angle conquest, so did *Samogitia* apply to a district which was either Ugrian or on the Ugrian frontier, before it became Lithuanic.

At present

The Siranians call the Samoyeds *Yarang.*

Ostiaks ——— *Yeryan-yakh.*

Voguls ——— *Yorran-kum.*

Tungusians ——— *Dyandal.*

The Russians, as aforesaid, (and, after the Russians, the French, English, and Germans,) say *Samoyed.* But it is only the *Khasovo,* or northern branch, that they so denominate. The southern Samoyeds have been called Ostiaks; which they are not.

This shews the amount of confusion engendered by inaccurate names. One of the designations before us

conceals an affinity which actually exists; the other suggests an erroneous one,

It illustrates, too, a method of criticism, which is too often misapplied. The *ordinary* interpretation of such a fact as two populations, so distant from each other as Herberstein's Samogedi and the Samogitæ of Lithuania, bearing names so similar, is that they both belonged to the same class. The *true* inference is different from this —very different. The synonymous tribes, no matter how many of them there be, need be in no ethnological relation at all to each other. They need only be in a certain relation to some third population—the population which lies between them, which touches their two frontiers, and which supplies the name common to the two.

This is the principle upon which the natives of Wales, of Italy, of the Valais in Switzerland, of the Walloon country in the Ardennes, are all *Wel*-sh (*Weahl-as*). They all lie in contact with populations sufficiently allied to each other to denote their neighbours by the same term. Hence—

Identity of name, in distant localities, proves no ethnological connexion between the synonymous populations.

It only proves the mutual affinity of the interjacent populations.

This is enlarged upon here, because it illustrates a line of criticism which will be applied somewhat freely and boldly hereafter.

The Samoyeds falls into two divisions, a *southern* and a *northern*.

*This Southern division*—the division of the *Soiot*—will be noticed first. Part of its area lies within the limits of the Chinese empire, so that its neighbours are Turks, Mongolians, and Tungusians, rather than Laps, Voguls, and Ugrians; and its latitude is one that, in Europe, would give us gardens, cornfields, and vineyards—the latitude of Paris, N. L. 49. This crosses the head-waters of the two great rivers Obi and Yenisey; upon each of which we find branches of these Southern, or Soiot, Samoyeds. At Tunkinsk, on the south-western extremity of the Lake Baikal, in the Russian territory, and on a Turk frontier, lie the most eastern of them. At Abakansk, on the Upper Yenisey, and on the Uda, a feeder of the Yenisey, lie other tribes; on the parts about Lake Ubsa, further south still, and within the Chinese territory, others; others on the Bashkus, which expands in Lake Altun (or Teleakoi) and becomes one of the head-waters of the Obi.

The names and forms of speech vary with the area. There are the Motori, the Koibal, and the Kamash dialects, known more or less imperfectly, through the vocabularies of the Asia Polyglotta. And there are the tribes of Bagari, the Matlar, the Tozhiri, and the Ulek, divisions of the Uriangchai or Soiot Proper; the tribes of the Karakash; the tribes of the three dialects, just named (Motori Koibal, and Kamash); and the tribe of the Tubintsi.

The pressure from the neighbouring tribes on these Southern Samoyeds is considerable; the Motòri being probably extinct. At least, in A.D. 1722, only ten families of them remained.

Few populations are less known than these Southern

Samoyeds, *Ostiaks* as they have loosely been called, *Soiot* (in the wider sense of the term) as they are proposed to be named. They are said to be impoverished, distressed, and reduced in numbers. What is their relation to their area? Are they immigrants or aborigines? Do they lie *in situ*, or have they come from the north? We have nothing but the *à priori* probabilities before us. Their occupancy lies on an elevated and probably broken surface; an elevated and broken surface more likely to retain an old than to accept a new population. Add to this, that the Samoyeds of the north are not a nation of conquerors and invaders. As a general rule, the lines of immigration for these parts are from south to north, rather than *vice versâ*. As a general rule, too, the lower country is easier conquered from the higher than the higher from the lower. Nevertheless, all such reasoning is essentially *à priori* and, as such, unsafe. What if they were colonies of settlers, removed from the parts beyond them by the Mongol or other conquerors of Siberia, at a time when history was dark and silent? They may be so. At the same time, their forms of speech, so far as we know them, from the vocabularies of the Asia Polyglotta, collected by Strahlenberg and Messerschmidt, vary sufficiently to indicate long separation from the parent speech.

Then there is a tradition amongst them to the effect that they came from the land of *Suomi*. We have seen this word before, and know what it implies, or rather what it does *not* imply. It does not imply that they came from the *Samogitia*, the *Suomalaiset* country, the

*Sabme* districts, or even from the land of the *Samoyed*. It simply means that they came from some marshy, fenny, or *swampy* area. This might be near or distant; inasmuch as, wherever there are swamps and Ugrians there are conditions for such a name as *Suom:* just as, amongst the German populations, there are *fens* in Lincolnshire, and *veens* in Friesland. Upon the whole, I think they lie *in situ*. If so, the Northern Samoyeds have followed the lines of the great rivers, and encroached on the more Arctic populations.

The reindeer is one of the domestic animals of the Soiot Samoyeds; perhaps the chief one.

The character of their language was known to Strahlenberg; this meaning its affinity with the dialects of the Khasovo. And it is this affinity of speech which links the Southern division with—

*The Northern.*—Of these (as has been stated) Khasovo is the native name, though some tribes call themselves *Nyenekh*, and others *Mokasi*. Khasovo, too, is a convenient name for the division; *Samoyed* being reserved for the whole group.

The parts about Mezen, between Archangel and the Petshora, give us the western, the River Khatunga, between the Yenisey and Lena, the eastern frontier of the Khasovo. Their southernmost locality is the neighbourhood of Tomsk; and the neighbourhood of Tomsk is the northern frontier of the Soiot. So that the general Samoyed area is, probably, continuous and unbroken. At the same time the details are obscure. Neither is it certain that the division itself is strictly natural. I give it, however, as I find it.

As the Obi and Yenisey approach the sea the intervening area increases. Its steppe-like character (to judge from the rivers) increases also. This gives us a Ugrian population under the physical conditions of a Mongol or Turk of Tartary, who has but little to get from any forest, little from any fishery. Again, the division into tribes takes prominence among the Samoyeds. In other respects, they resemble the Laps of the more treeless districts; having, perhaps, a little more bodily strength, and a little more energy. The physiognomy, too, is more Mongolian or Kalmuc, the stature being below the average.

The dialects are numerous, and we have specimens of them from—

1. Pustosesk, at the mouth of the Petshora, the northwesternmost locality.
2. Obdorsk, at the mouth of the Obi.
3. The River Tym, on the right side of the Obi.
4. The River Ket, *ibid.*
5. Narym, between the two.
6. Pumpokolsk, north of the Tym.
7. Tomsk, the southernmost locality.
8. The parts between the Obi and Yenesey,—the Yurass, the Tas, and Mangaseia vocabularies.
9. Turuchansk.
10. East of Turuchansk,—the Karass vocabulary.
11. The parts about the Chatunga,—the Tawgi vocabulary. These are the most easterly specimens.
12. The Laak vocabulary.

A Samoyed grammar, in the course of publication, is one of the last works of Castrén—a posthumous one.

It is Castrén who, confirming a suggestion of Schott's and (I believe) also of Gabelentz's as well, definitely placed the Samoyeds amongst the Ugrians—the language being the guide. Until his grammar comes before the world, the details of the evidence will be incomplete, It may safely, however, be assumed that they will suffice.

It is the present writer, who, ignorant of Castrén's researches, and of the Ugrian character of the Samoyed language, predicated of two other populations that they were in the same category with the Samoyed, whatever that might be.

The fact of the Samoyed being Ugrian by no means modifies his opinion. The first of these families is that of—

*a.* The Yeniseians; the second, that of—

*b.* The Yukahiri.

As Paganism increases as we move eastward and northward, the three families under notice are the least modified by either Christianity from the side of Russia, or Buddhism from that of Mongolia. Neither are they Mahometans through any Turk influences. But the Yeniseians and Yukahiri are small groups; small and obscure. This leaves the Samoyeds as the chief specimen of the Siberian heathens of the Ugrian stock.

*The Yeniseians.*—This is a name so clearly taken from that of the Yenisey as to make the statement, that the tribes to which it applies are occupants of the banks of that river, superfluous. It is not unnecessary, however, to say, how it arose and who gave it. In all the works anterior to the publication of the *Asia Polyglotta* (in 1823), a number of small tribes occupying the Middle Yenisey, were known under the vague, and general, and

inaccurate denomination of *Ostiaks of the Yenisey*, a term sufficiently precise to distinguish them from the Ostiaks of the Obi—provided that they *were* Ostiaks, which they were not; not, at least, in the ordinary sense of the term. They were less Ostiak than they were Samoyed. They were also less Ostiak than were the Voguls. This induced Klaproth to suggest the simple name Yeniseian.

The Yeniseian area lies on each side of the Yenisey, from Abakansk, to the parts about Mangaseia—both Abakansk and Mangaseia being Samoyed localities. The Uda, too, the Syin, and other Yeniseian feeders, are Yeniseian occupancies. The Ket, a feeder of the Obi, is the same. The fifty-sixth parallel cuts their area; Krasnoyarsk, Inbazk, and Pumpokolsk being the towns of their district—the towns of their district, but by no means the towns of the Yeniseians. They are as little industrial and commercial as the Samoyeds, and as truly as the Samoyeds are they a country rather than a town population. One, at least, of their divisions (that of the Arini) is extinct. The others are inconsiderable. On the South they are bounded by the Soiot, and certain Turk tribes approaching them, and of mixed blood; on the North, by the Khasovo; on the West, by the Ostiaks; and on the East, by the Tungusians, of the Tunguska river.

With moveable huts, consisting of a few poles, encircled by the rind of the birch, and with a few reindeers, the Yeniseians live chiefly by fishing and hunting; skilful in both pursuits; skilful, too, as smiths and smelters of iron; still retentive of their original paganism.

The Arini, (Arintsi or Ariner,) the tribe which we

suppose to have become extinct, amounted in 1721 to between 40 and 50 individuals, and in 1735 to no more than 10; of which only two spoke their native tongue. The rest had either died off, or become assimilated to the Turks of the River Katsha. Their power was broken at the time of the Russian conquest of the parts about Tobolsk and Tomsk; and it was broken by a blunder. The classical reader remembers what Gibbon calls the "tremendous allegory" of the Scythians—a frog, a mouse, a bird, and a bundle of arrows; which was explained to mean, that an enemy could escape the last only by being one of the three first; by diving under the water like a frog, by burrowing under the earth like a mouse, or by flying in the air like a bird. Now, the Arini were similarly allegoric. When the Russians were fighting against the other Siberians, they sent to Tobolsk an arrow, some red earth, and a black fox, *as a symbol of friendship.* It was mistaken for the contrary, and the nation was attacked accordingly. What if the Scythian symbols have been equally misinterpreted, and that by learned scholars, as well as by savage conquerors?

The *Kott* and the *Kongroitshi* are closely allied tribes, called by the Arini, Assan, and by the Turks, Koibali—*i. e.*, by the same name that is given to one of the Samoyed divisions. They lie east of the Arintsi.

The *Deng* or *Denka*, as they call themselves, are called also the *Sable Ostiaks*, though less correctly. In 1723, Messerschmidt took a vocabulary of their language, and remarked, that it carried its numerals no further than *five.* Their locality was on the Tunguska.

*The Könniyüng* are the Yeniseians of the part about Inbazk, and Turikhansk. It is remarkable that they call the Russians *Siryan (Siranian).*

Of the *Yesirti* and *Dzesirti* I can only say, that, along with the Arini, they bury their dead as follows:—The bow and arrows are placed in the grave of the deceased, over which his best horse is slaughtered and flayed. The skin is then stretched over a pole, set up on the grave, and the flesh is feasted on.

The women, after their confinements, wash themselves three times within the first seven days, and then fumigate themselves with a herb named *Irben.* The first friend that visits them names the child.

Their oaths are taken over a bear's head, of which the swearer fixes his teeth in the nose.

When a sentence equivalent to banishment is pronounced against a culprit, he is placed between a dog and a reindeer. These are then set free. Whichever way they run must be taken by the man also, who is no longer allowed to remain where he was—even a draught of water from his old locality is forbidden. So is all further intercourse with any of his original neighbours.

Of no population throughout Siberia are our notices more scanty than they are for these Yeniseians; the *Asia Polyglotta* being the authority for the present notices; the original authority being Messerschmidt, who visited and described the country in 1723.

The name *Arini* is probably Turk rather than native. It is said to mean *wasps;* the population to which it applies being so denominated from their warlike activity. But it most likely means nothing of the kind; being

neither more nor less than the Turk word *Ari*, a name which we have seen applied to the Votiaks.

More important is the form *Siryan*, which suggests the possibility of the Siranian and Yeniseian tongues having been once conterminous.

Again, the word *Denki* is a word belonging to the Tungusian family of languages; indeed, it is the word *Tungùs* in its original form. More than one of the tribe akin to the Mantshus, call themselves *Donki*. Here it means *man;* as it probably does in Yeniseian also.

Erman has given us a tradition, that when the horde to which the narrator belonged "came from the setting of the sun towards the river Tas, only four pairs remained alive. Even these expected to perish by hunger; but one, being a Tshwotshibuikub," (compare this with the Samoyed form *Tadebzi,*) "or wizard, wings sprang from his arms; he flew into the air, plunged into the Tas, and came up with fish. Then the others began to support themselves by fishing."

*The Yukahiri.*—Separated from the Yeniseians by the Turk Yakuts, as well as by the Tungusian Tshapojir, the Yukahiri occupy the very shores of the Arctic Sea, in the parts between the rivers Yana and Omolon—the Yana west, and the Omolon east, with the Indijirka and Kolyma between. The family to which they belong was once powerful, containing, besides the Yukahiri, the tribes of the Omoki and Schelagi, now extinct.

Numerous tumuli on the Indijirka are referred to the Omoki, and on the Aniuy burial-places are seen which are little wooden buildings containing corpses armed with

bows, arrows, and spears. Along with these lies the magic drum, of which we have seen so much in Lapland. There were, at one time, more hearths of the Omoki on the banks of the Kolyma, than there are stars in a clear sky. So, at least, runs the Yukahiri legend.

The Shelagi gave their name to the promontory of *Shelagskoi* Nos.

The Tshuvanzi were a Yukahiri tribe also. So were the Tsheltieri, Kudinsi, and Konghini.

They are all said to have been acquainted with the use of iron.

The native name of the Yukahiri is *Andon Domni*. The Koriaks call them *Atal*. Their other neighbours are the Turk Yakuts. Hence it is probable that it is to the Yakut language that the term Yukahir (also *Yukadzhir*) is referrible. If so, its probable meaning is the same as the Koriak *Atal*, which means *spotted*. It applies to the Yukahiri from their spotted deerskin dresses.

Now, south of these same Yakuts, who are supposed to call the Andon Domni by the name Yukahiri (or Yukadzhiri), live a tribe of Tungusians. These are called *Tshapodzhir*—but *not* by themselves. By whom? By no one so probably as by the Yakuts. Why? Because they tattoo themselves. If so, it is probable that *Yukadzhir* and *Tshapodzhir* are one and the same word—at any rate, a likely meaning in a likely language has been claimed for it.

Let it, then, be considered as a Turk word, meaning *spotted, tattooed, painted,*—provisionally. It may appear in any part of the Turk area, provided only, that some

nation to which one of the three preceding adjectives applies be found in its neighbourhood. It may appear, too, in any state of any Turk form of speech. But there are Turk forms of speech as far distant from the Lena and Tunguska as Syria or Constantinople; and there are Turk glosses as old as Herodotus. One of these the present writer believes to be the word *Agathyrsi*, being provided with special evidence to shew that the nation so called were either themselves Turk or on a Turk frontier Now, the Agathyrsi are called the *picti* Agathyrsi; and it is submitted to the reader that the one word is the translation of the other—the words *Agathyrs* (also *Akatzir*), *Yukadzhir*, and *Tshapodzhir*, being one and the same.

## CHAPTER X.

THE TURK STOCK—THE TARTARS OF THE KIPTSHAK KHANATES.

WE have enumerated the members of the great Ugrian, and proceed to those of the Turk, stock.

The subjects of the present chapter are the so-called Tartars of the—

*a.* Governments of Permia, Viatka, Kazan, and Simbirsk;

*b.* Also those of Saratov, Astrakhan, and Caucasus; and—

*c.* Thirdly, those of Taurida, or the Crim Tartars.

These divisions have not been made gratuitously.

If we go back into history, we shall find, that soon after the time of Timur, when the Turks were more formidable to the Russians, than the Russians of the present moment are to the Turks, the three divisions just given coincide with three Kingdoms, Empires, or (to use the nomenclature of the population with which we are dealing) Khanates; viz.,

*a.* The Khanate of Kazan.

*b.* The Khanate of Astrakhan.

*c.* The Khanate of Crimea.

Such are the terms that apply to the state of things subsequent to the time of Timur or Tamerlane—Timur or Tamerlane having been a Turk as opposed to a Mongol. So that the beginning of the three Khanates was, there or thereabouts, simultaneous, *i. e.*, within the last quarter of the 14th century (between 1375 and 1400).

The duration of them, however, was different. Kazan became Russian in 1552, Astrakhan in 1554, and the Crimea no earlier than 1783.

Such is the view we take of the Turkish period as opposed to the Russian; the Russian being the present, the Turkish being the penultimate, one.

What was the state of things before the development of the Khanates, the Khanates of the Turkish period, the Khanates of the successors of Timur or Tamerlane?

The Khanates arose out of the *Kiptshak;* the Kiptshak being the name for the state of things that originated in the first third of the 13th century—say, A.D. 1230.

For the *Khanates* substitute the *Kiptshak;* for the Turks (as opposed to the Mongolians), the *Mongolians* (as opposed to the Turks); for *Timur* (or Tamerlane), *Dzhindzhiz-khan;* and you have the difference between the Mongol period and the Turk—the Mongol period of the thirteenth and fourteenth, and the Turk of the fifteenth and following centuries, the Mongol period with its population akin to the Kalmuks, and the Turk with its tribes allied to the Osmanlis. Whatever else we may

confound, let us clearly distinguish between these two epochs; and in order to do so, let us remember that there is much that may mislead us. In the first place, there is the term *Tartar* applied, in nine cases out of ten, to Turks and Mongolians equally. Then, there is the *Great Mogul* of our Indian Empire, who, name for name, is neither more nor less than the Great *Mongol*. Yet he is no *Mongol* at all, but a potentate of Turk extraction. Then there is the word *Turk*, with its English sense, meaning a *Turk* of Constantinople; and, besides this, there is the term *Tartar* with its Russian signification. This means a Turk of one of the Khanates under notice. It is this Russian use of the word which hampers the ethnologist. He cannot, when writing of Russia, do otherwise than talk occasionally as the Russians do themselves. Hence he is tempted to write about *Tartars*. Were it not for this, he would eschew the word altogether.

The present writer will use it as little as he can help. The population under notice he will call *Turks;* and the Turks of Constantinople, *Osmanlis;* the Mongolians, *Mongols* or *Kalmuks*.

A great deal is occasionally said about the early subordination of Russia to the Tartars. In many cases, these Tartars are Mongols.

A great deal is occasionally said about the early subordination of Russia to the Mongols. In many cases, these Mongols are Turks. This shews the amount of care required for the minute ethnology of the parts under notice, care which will often go unrewarded; inasmuch as, when all has been done that learning and criticism can do towards the disentanglement of the Turco-Mongo-

lian complexities, much that is wholly incapable of analysis and separation will remain. We find this even in the Kiptshak period.

The history of the Kiptshak is that of Dzhindzhiz-khan and his successors, of whom the current history is as follows. The chief of a small and single tribe of the part to the west of the Chinese Wall, a tribe which bore the specific name of *Mongol*, just as some particular tribe of ancient Germany bore the name of *Angle*, having been deprived in his youth of certain hereditary rights, devoted his manhood to the recovery of them—to their recovery, and something more. He subdued the tribes around him, and became the consolidator of a vast confederation. He added to this, populations other than Mongol, either in the limited or its wider sense of the word. Members of the great Turk family, from the south and west, joined his standard. Possibly, Tungusians and Ugrians may have done so also. It is certain, however, that his armies were heterogeneous, and that the Turk elements therein were well-nigh as important as the proper Mongol. With these he went forth to conquer, and struck on all sides with his double-edged sword—one of the most ruthless devastators that the world has seen. He struck in the direction of the Pacific, and conquered the northern half of China. He struck in the direction of India, and conquered the present Chinese Tartary. He struck in the direction of Persia, crossed the Oxus, and ravaged Balk, Cabul, Khorasan, and Armenia: lastly, he struck in the direction of Europe and overran the countries between the Yaik and Volga, the countries between the Volga and the

Dnieper, the countries between the Dnieper and the Elbe. He, or his successors, had overrun Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Moravia, and part of Silesia, before a check given to the Germans and Slavonians at Liegnitz arrested the career of barbarism and conquest—conquests which the current historian invests with an incredible amount of havock and cruelty. As they "advanced farther from home, and left their deserts behind, the course of their march through more populous regions was marked by the burnings of the cities, the devastation and ruin of the country, and the slaughter of all the inhabitants whom they did not carry off to sell as slaves. Their uniform plan was to convert the fields into a desert, and to leave behind them no human being that could rise on their rear, that could offer a moment's annoyance, or occasion the slightest risk to the invaders. By the barbarity of their massacres, in which age, and sex, and condition were alike disregarded, they spread horror and dismay around them on every side, and to remote regions."

This is language of the historian of India under the two first princes of the house of Timur. It is language that stimulates the imagination, and shocks the feeling. Gibbon's does the same. No sooner had Octai, the minister, and one of the immediate successors of Dzhindzhiz, "subverted the northern empire of China than he resolved to visit with his arms the most remote countries of the west. Fifteen hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars were inscribed on the military roll; of these the great Khan selected a third, which he entrusted to the command of his nephew, Batou, the son of Tuli, who reigned over his father's conquests to the north of the Caspian

Sea. After a festival of forty days, Batou set forwards on this great expedition; and such was the speed and ardour of his innumerable squadrons, that in less than six years they had measured a line of ninety degrees of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. The great rivers of Asia and Europe, the Volga and Kama, the Don and Borysthenes, the Vistula and Danube, they either swam with their horses or passed on the ice, or traversed in leathern boats which followed the camp, and transported their waggons and artillery. By the first victories of Batou, the remains of national freedom were eradicated in the immense plains of Turkestan and Kipzak. In his rapid progress he overran the kingdoms as they are now styled of Astracan and Cazan, and the troops which he detached towards Mount Caucasus explored the most secret recesses of Georgia and Circassia. The civil discord of the great dukes or princes of Russia betrayed their country to the Tartars. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea, and both Moscow and Kiow, the modern and the ancient capitals, were reduced to ashes; a temporary ruin, less fatal than the deep and perhaps indelible mark which a servitude of two hundred years has imprinted on the character of the Russians. The Tartars ravaged with equal fury the countries which they hoped to possess, and those which they were hastening to leave. From the permanent conquest of Russia, they made a deadly though transient inroad into the heart of Poland, and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated; they approached the shores of the Baltic, and in the battle of Lignitz they defeated the dukes of Silesia, the Polish

palatines, and the great master of the Teutonic order, and filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. From Lignitz, the extreme point of their western march, they turned aside to the invasion of Hungary; and the presence or spirit of Batou inspired the host of five hundred thousand men. The Carpathian hills could not be long impervious to their divided columns, and their approach had been fondly disbelieved till it was irresistibly felt. The King, Bela the Fourth, assembled the military force of his counts and bishops; but he had alienated the nation by adopting a vagrant horde of forty thousand families of Cumans, and these savage guests were provoked to revolt by the suspicion of treachery and the murder of their prince. The whole country north of the Danube was lost in a day, and depopulated in a summer; and the ruins of cities and churches were overspread with the bones of the natives, who expiated the sins of their Turkish ancestors. An ecclesiastic, who fled from the sack of Waradin, describes the calamities which he had seen or suffered; and the sanguinary rage of sieges and battles is far less atrocious than the treatment of the fugitives, who had been allured from the woods, under a promise of peace and pardon, and who were coolly slaughtered as soon as they had performed the labours of the harvest and vintage. In the winter the Tartars passed the Danube on the ice, and advanced to Gran or Strigenium, a German colony, and the metropolis of the kingdom. Thirty engines were planted against the walls, the ditches were filled with sacks of earth and dead bodies, and after a promiscuous massacre three hundred noble matrons were slain in the presence of the Khan. Of all

the cities and fortresses of Hungary, three alone survived the Tartar invasion, and the unfortunate Bela hid his head among the islands of the Adriatic.

"The Latin world was darkened by this cloud of savage hostility: a Russian fugitive carried the alarm to Sweden and the remote nations of the Baltic, and the ocean trembled at the approach of the Tartars; whom their fear and ignorance were inclined to separate from the human species." (*Gibbon's Decline and Fall.*)

No wonder, if these accounts be true, that whenever any nation beyond the confines of Mongolia presents a notable amount of flattened faces, glabrous skins, oblique eyes, or the like, the hypothesis of a Mongolian intermixture should be resorted to. Their armies were of inconceivable magnitude; the opponents were reduced to fractions of their former selves.

Again—and this is a fact with a similar bearing in ethnology—so good an authority as Mr. Erskine adopts the statement, that when Dzhindzhiz "deputed his sons or generals to govern any of the conquered countries, and in this policy he was imitated by his successors, he sent along with them an ulus, or tuman, or some Moghul tribe, or division of a tribe, to overawe the conquered. The Moghul tribe so employed received an allotment of country, and placed themselves, with their families and flocks, in the pasture-range of the tribes amongst whom they were sent. By the inevitable intercourse that takes place between persons living under the same government, near to and in habits of intercourse with each—by intermarriages—by traffic, and in other ways, a considerable mixture of the two races took place, which

shewed itself both in their language, and in their features and bodily appearance."

To return, however, to the special history of what is now the Kiptshak (or western division of the great Mongol Empire), but what will afterwards become the Khanates: the eldest of the sons of Dzhendzhiz was Dzhudzhi, who died prematurely, when his portion was transferred to his son Batu, or Batu-Khan. He it was who conquered Russia, and made his way so far westwards as Silesia. During this expedition his brother Sheibani, having distinguished himself, was rewarded by a grant of certain extensive provinces, conquered "from the Russians and other Christians, with a sufficient number of the Kuris, Naiman, Karlik, and Oighur tribes, to keep them in subjection."*

By A.D. 1375, all was confusion in the Kiptshak; and when Timur had risen to power in the parts beyond the Oxus, he found that two rivals, Urus and Toktamish, were quarrelling for the dignity of Khan of the Kiptshak. The latter being worsted, appealed to Timur for help, who gave it and seated him on the throne of Serai, on the Volga, and then proceeded to favour further discord, by raising successively, as Anti-Khans, Timur-Kutk, and Kaurtshik. Civil war, and such help as Timur's, soon broke the family of Batou and Dzhudzhi, and, though a Great Khan was nominally acknowledged, it was only in name that he was a Khan at all.

The eastern third of the Kiptshak became divided between the Khan of Tura and the Uzbeks. Of this we have but little to say at present.

* Erskine—*History of India, &c.*, vol. i., p. 26.

The western parts, to which Russia, Poland, and Lithuania belonged, will be noticed when we come to the Slavonic stock.

The central parts—the parts which now command our attention—fell into the three Khanates already indicated.

*The Tartars (so called) of the Khanate of Kazan.*—The Turks of this division are distributed not only over the Government of Kazan, but, in the following numbers, over those of—

| | |
|---|---|
| Permia | 17,271 |
| Viatka | 57,944 |
| Simbirsk | 87,730 |
| Orenburg | 230,080 |
| To which add in Kazan itself | 308,574 |

The present town of Kazan is either the most Asiatic of European or the most European of Asiatic cities. Of a population of more than 50,000, two-thirds are Russian, one-third Turk—the latter being apart and in the so-called Tartar town. No longer the metropolis of a Khanate, it is still a town full (comparatively speaking) of trade, industry, and intelligence. Its University is the great seminary for missionaries and propaganda-agents, for the religious and political designs of Russia in the direction of the east. For hemp, flax, and corn, it is a mart; and for curriery and tanning, a manufacturing town. The province, too, is the centre of the oak-tree district of Russia; the zone between 53 and 56 N.L. being the tract where that tree preponderates—preponderates to the exclusion of the firs and pines of the north, the pines of the south, and the beeches of Caucasus. Kazan is the great imperial forest for the Russian navy.

All travellers speak well of the Kazan Tartars—or *Turks*, as the ethnologist loves to call them. In the towns they have wholly sunk their originally nomadic character, and are as truly industrial as so many Jews, Armenians, or Anglo-Saxons. In the country, some of the old characteristics keep their ground. Yet, in the country, they are hard-working farmers—though shepherds and bee-masters also. In both they are zealous and sincere, though not intolerant, Mahometans; less sensual, because less wealthy and dominant, than the Osmanli of Constantinople, circumspect in business, and, it may be, sharp in practice, and suspicious—though more so to Russians than to others. In dress, they are rapidly accommodating themselves to Russian habits, with whom, in their domestic architecture, and their ordinary mode of life, they are favourably contrasted; and still more so when compared with the Ugrian Tshuvashes, Tsheremis, and Mordvins.

If the memory of their former power be extinct—of which, it should be added, we have no evidence—the daily experience of the feeling of being a subordinate population irritates them; so does the Russian-Greek ascendancy in matters ecclesiastic.

In respect to their physical appearance, they fall into two divisions; are referrible to two types. Of these the Osmanli of Constantinople, in his most European form, gives us one extreme; the flat-faced Mongolian of the Wall of China, the other: the one with an oval contour of face, prominent features, not inexpressive eyes, and a fine manly beard; the other with a broad and flattened nose, prominent cheek-bones, and glabrous skin.

That each of these physiognomies is to be found amongst the Kazan Tartars, we learn from the evidence of most observers. Some praise the beauty of both the men and women, and put their physical good qualities on the creditable level of their moral ones. Others compare them with the Mongols. A third line of criticism indicates the likelihood of a change for the better, having gone on since the time of the earlier observers, one of whom, Herberstein, writes—"Tartari sunt homines statura mediocri, lata facie, obesa, oculis intortis et concavis, sola barba horridi, cetera rasi. Insigniores tantum viri crines contortos eosque nigerrimos secundum aures habent." (*Rerum Moscovitar. Comm*, p. 89.)

The general doctrine respecting this double type in the Turk stock has been indicated. It has been indicated that the Osmanli physiognomy is exceptional, the ordinary type being that of the Ugrians and Mongolians, or, rather, something intermediate between them. But in the present case there is another series of facts to be borne in mind. However early the occupation of the Volga and Kama by Turk tribes may have taken place, it is nearly certain that the anterior population was Ugrian, intermixture with which was well-nigh unavoidable. If this took place to any extent, the blood of the more flat-faced families of Turkish Kazan may be Ugrian on the mother's side.

The Khanates are countries of which the antiquities, whether *tumuli* or the remains of towns, deserve attention. Prominent amongst the latter are the ruins on the left bank of the Volga, near the town of Spask, about half way between Kazan and Simbirsk. The town that

stood here is called by the older Russian annalists *Vrachimov*. But Vrachimov, as a town, is obliterated; and a little village, called *Bolgary* (mark the name), stands on its ruins. These consist of the remains of walls, and buildings, and (more important than either) tombstones with inscriptions. In the neighbourhood rises the convent of Uspenskoi, of modern origin—of modern origin, and suggestive of the old story with its expected grievance. The archæologist has been wronged. *Ex-corruptione optimi fit pessimum.* The venerable remains of an ancient city get pulled down, and removed for the sake of the building materials that they supply, and old stones go to new places. It is cheaper to demolish than to quarry, and Uspenkoi gets built out of the ruins and remains of Vrachimov. This is why the old and new descriptions disagree. Ermann finds but a fraction of the remains that were admired and described by Pallas and Lepechen in 1768. Turnarelli, the latest traveller in these parts, finds less still. However, enough remains to indicate the early existence of a large and flourishing town—deserving, in its decay, more attention than it has met with; a town, with its *Black House*, its *White House*, and its *Greek House*, still standing in their fragments, and with modern denominations given them by the villagers around—modern denominations equivalent to the *House of Diomed*, the *House of the Emperor*, *&c.*, of the Pompeian archæologists. The number of these, however, as has been stated, decreases.

More important than the walls and houses are the coins and inscriptions; inasmuch as these give the date and

character of the civilization of ancient Vrachimov. The former are of silver or copper, with Arabic legends in the Cufic character, and belonging to the time of the Chalifate. The inscriptions claim a more detailed notice. Short and simple, they give us but an extract from the Koran (or a proverb) along with the name, descent, and condition of the individual deceased—and along with these the date; the languages being the Turkish, the Arabic, and the Armenian—the latter the rarest of the three. Thus, out of fifty inscriptions, forty-seven are Turkish or Arab; three, Armenian. This indicates the exceptional character of the latter; but as none are Greek, and none Slavonic, it shews that, after the native occupants, the Armenians were the chief denizens—the *Metoikoi*, so to say, of Vrakhimov.

So much for the date. Of the forty-seven Turk and Arab legends, no less than twenty-two are referrible to one and the same year—the 623 of the Hejra. That this is not accidental is evident, and, probably, Pallas's hypothesis that a plague raged during those twelve-months, is plausible. It may, however, have been a war, or a sedition. At any rate, the criticism indicates the inductive character of the archæology at work.

Add to these, those of the year in question, and they are dispersed over the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries—the time before the Mongol conquest, and the time subsequent to it.

Whatever other inferences may be drawn from all this, one fact is certain; viz., that anterior to the time of the Mongol invasion, the town in whose ruins they are found was a town with a trade within the range of the coinage

of the Califate, a town with Armenian traders, and a town with an Arabic, Turkish, and Armenian alphabet.

As Vrakhimov fell off, Kazan rose into prominence. But there were two Kazans—an older and a newer. The date of the earlier is uncertain, it was anterior to the time of Timur.

When the Russian period began, it was the fate of the Turk to give way. No matter how formidable may have been the Kazan Khanate to the Czars of Moscow, the latter won the field; and A.D. 1552 saw the last of the battles that decided the supremacy. The anniversary of this day is one of the thousand-and-one glorious anniversaries which the folly of the nineteenth century keeps up as chronic stores of national irritation, and it is still celebrated—like the anniversary of the Boyne in Ireland—as a memorial of the final victory of the Russians. From A.D. 1552, Kazan ceased to be formidable to Russia; ceased to be formidable, and acknowledged its subordination. In '54, the province was made an episcopate—after the fashion of the Protestant bishoprics in Ireland—of the Greek Church, and conversion began accordingly. There was plenty to do in this way. The Turks were Mahometans; the Tshuvashes, Mordvins, and Tsheremis, Pagan. What they were then, they are now. Who wonders at it? History repeats itself everywhere.

The criticism that applies to Vrakhimov applies to other ruins as well, with a difference only in detail. Remains of the same kind occur in more than a dozen known and recognized localities in this, comparatively, unknown and unrecognized government.

There was an early civilization in Kazan—not because

it was Kazan, but because, considering its parallel of latitude and continental climate, it was a favoured locality. The conflux of the Kama and Volga developed the earlier settlements into emporia in respect to Europe; the caravan-trade to Bokhara and Persia diffused the productions of India.

The name of the little village of *Bolghari*, which we find in the neighbourhood of the ancient *Vrakimov*, suggests the name of either the population or the country under which this trade, with its concomitant civilization, arose. More than this will not be said at present. The *governments* of Kazan, Simbirsk, &c., were once the *Khanate* of Kazan; earlier still, the Khanate of Kazan was a part of the Mongol Empire of the Kiptshak; and before it was this, either a part or the whole of the ancient *Bulgaria*.

The Ante-Mongol period of the Khanate of Kazan was *Bulgarian*.

The Ante-Mongol period of—

*The Khanate of Astrakhan* was *Khazar*. It was from the Khanate of Astrakhan that the Khazars poured themselves over eastern Europe in the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries; and it was the Khazars who developed in the Khanate of Astrakhan a civilization of the same kind with that of the Bulgaria of the Volga—the Bulgaria of the Volga as opposed to the Bulgaria of the Danube.

The same relation that the governments of Simbirsk, Viatka, &c., bear to Kazan, Saratov and Caucasus do to Astrakhan.

The history of Vrakimov repeats itself in that of

*Okak;* the history of Old Kazan, in that of *Serai.* There was a town of early importance, and its decay. There was a newer town that rose on its fall; and there was the newest town of all, the Astrakhan (or Kazan) of the nineteenth century.

The antiquities of Astrakhan are as remarkable as the import of them is obscure. There was a Turk period, a Mongol period, a Khazar period, and, in the mind of the present writer, a Ugrian period anterior to them all.

A.D. 1554, is the date of the annexation of Astrakhan to Russia—two years later than that of Kazan.

THE CRIM TARTARS.—The history of the Crimea is that of Kazan and Astrakhan, with the difference that it became Osmanli before it was Russian. Indeed, it was not incorporated with the dominions of the Czar until the end of the last century.

After the break-up of the Mongol dynasty it became a Khanate, the change being due to the conquest of the line of Timur. If so, the first century, at least, should be either a period of independence or one of vassalage, more or less close to some one of the Timurian empires—to some one of the Timurian empires as opposed to that of the Amuraths, Bajazets, and Mahomets, who ruled in Rumelia and Constantinople. It should, at any rate, have been other than Osmanli. Perhaps, it was so at first. On the other hand, however, I find that the first notice that occurs of it in so full and voluminous a writer as Von Hammer, in his history of the Ottoman (Osmanli) Turks, is in the first third of the sixteenth century, under the reign of Selim I., who is made to speak of the Tartars of the Crimea as formidable enemies, but, at the

same time, as tribes, more or less, acknowledging his suzerainty. At any rate, he nominates their Khan. The history of the times between the obliteration of the House of Dzhindzhiz and this notice of a state of sovereignty and vassalage between the Porte and the Crimea, I am unable to give, and would willingly see investigated. I can only say, that by the beginning of the 14th century, the Crimea, or Crim Tartary, had ceased to be Mongol, and that by the middle of the 16th it was more or less Osmanli. The fragments of its history that I find, are the notices of so many murders, chiefly fratricides; and its details are bloody and revolting even for those of an Oriental dynasty. The usurper, the pretender, the unscrupulous minister, the renegade, play more than their ordinary parts. The authority of the Porte is a see-saw—now up, now down—now strong enough to carry out its mandates with a high hand, now but nominal. As we approach our own times, the complications of modern state-craft set in—and there is diplomacy on the parts of Austria, of Poland, and (last and most effective) of Russia; diplomacy not unbacked by military demonstrations; diplomacy and menace, diplomacy and intrigue. The penultimate stage is one of Russian protection; the ultimate one, Russian domination.

It was in 1778 that peace was concluded between Turkey and Russia, and the independence of the Khan of the Crimea of the Ottoman empire recognized. Upon this, no fewer than 30,000 Greeks and Armenians emigrated to the country of the Don Kosaks, where they now occupy several villages between the Don and the Benda.

In 1783 the second of the two changes took place, and the Khanate of the Crimea, from being independent of Turkey, became subject to Russia. On this event, such Tartars as chose were allowed to emigrate, and Anatolia and Rumelia were the countries that vast numbers of them sought. During ten years lasted these emigrations; and in 1784 alone no less than 80,000 Tartars left their country.

It is not easy to take the exact value of these *evictions*, inasmuch as the calculations of the numbers of the Tartars before the peace of 1778 vary; Georgi making the number of both sexes between 330,000 and 400,000; whereas Pallas raises it to 500,000.

But the census of 1796 was inaccurate, and had to be taken over again. The highest number, however, that it gave was 90,000. In 1800 it had increased to 120,000. At present it is (as seen from the figures) more than twice as much. These give (less the Slavonians)—

| | |
|---|---|
| Tartars | 275,822 |
| Germans | 22,324 |
| Gipsies | 7,726 |
| Greeks | 5,426 |
| Karaite Jews | 4,198 |
| Talmudic Jews | 4,110 |
| Armenians | 3,960 |
| Bulgarians | 1,234 |
| Mordvins | 340 |
| | 325,140 |

The Crimean Tartars on the hills live as shepherds and

herdsmen, rather than as tillers of the ground. In the plains they exercise a moderate but not discreditable amount of agricultural industry, in a country where the soil is grateful and the climate mild, where tobacco thrives, and where the grape ripens into a vinous flavour. The representatives of some of these great families still retain their own lands,—lands held under feudal or quasi-feudal conditions; but the family of the Khan himself removed to Asia Minor on the conquest of his Khanate. There are a few unimportant points of difference between the Tartars of the hill-country and the Tartars of the plains—the herdsmen and the cultivators. Upon the whole, however, the Crimean civilization, creed, and speech are those of the Kazan and Astrakhan Tartars. This is as much as will be said of them at present.

*The Khanate of Siberia.*—Three Khanates have been mentioned as having been evolved at the break-up of the Kiptshak; *viz.*, those of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea; and for the exhibition of the ethnology of the Turks on the European side of the Uralian range, this triple division is enough. But there are the parts between the Urals and the Yaik, the parts belonging to the trans-uralian portion of the Government of Permia, the parts, also, beyond the Yaik and in the direction of Independent Tartary. These helped to form a fourth Khanate—that of Siberia; to which, parts of Tobolsk, &c., have belonged.

The notice of this Siberian division is necessary, because, although the three Khanates which took precedence in our notice contain, perhaps, ninety-nine hundredths of the so-called Tartars, they do not contain the whole. We must recognize the further class of—

*The Tartars so called of Siberia.*—We must recognize their existence, and be reminded of the extent to which they are, more or less, in the same class with the Tartars of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea. But we cannot, at present, quite conveniently go into their details. A complication attends their history, which places them along with a class of allied populations from which they are not always distinguishable, in a forthcoming chapter. If it were not for this complication, this would be their place.

*Tartars (so-called) of Esthonia, Lithuania, and Podolia.*—In the *central* parts of European Russia we find no notice of any Tartar population whatever—no notice of any Tartars in such Governments as Vladimir, Tula, Kaluga, &c., the Governments where the true and typical Russian population of Great Russia presents itself in its fullest and most exclusive development. So that we lose them as we go westwards. Not, however, for good. When we reach Esthonia they reappear, increasing in numbers in the Lithuanian provinces and Podolia. The so-called Tartar census runs as follows: for the Governments of—

| | |
|---|---|
| Esthonia | 12 |
| Kovno | 415 |
| Grodno | 849 |
| Vilna | 1,874 |
| Minsk | 2,120 |
| Podolia | 46 |
| | 5,316 |

It is probable that these western Tartars represent a recent colonization or settlement; in which case they are as truly intrusive elements amidst the Ugrian, Lithuanic, and Slavonic populations in which they occur, as are the Germans of Saratov, or the Swedes of Cherson; but it is also possible that they are referrible to the Mongol or Tartar periods, inasmuch as there is special evidence to the fact of the invaders (in the Mongol æra, at least,) having penetrated so far westwards.

Or their origin may be double—partly in the way of recent colonization, and partly due to the Mongol conquest.

As I have not seen any specific accounts of these Turks, I have put the question in the shape of an alternative. It may, however, with the necessary information, be a very simple one.

## CHAPTER XI.

THE TURK STOCK CONTINUED—THE PROVINCE OF ORENBURG WITH ITS BASHKIR, MESHTSHERIAK, AND TEPTYAR POPULATIONS.

ORENBURG is the great *Bashkir* Government, just as Kazan and Taurida are Tartar (so-called); for it is in Orenburg where the Bashkirs are more numerous than they are elsewhere, and it is the Bashkir which is the predominant population of Orenburg; each of these statements is conveyed by the following tables.

*Distribution of the Bashkir population over the Governments and districts of—*

| | |
|---|---|
| Orenburg | 332,358 |
| Permia | 40,746 |
| Samar | 15,351 |
| Viatka | 3,617 |
| | 392,072 |

*Relative amount of the different populations in the Government of Orenburg:*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Turks | Bashkirs | 332,358 |
| | Tartars (so-called) | 230,080 |
| | Meshtsheriaks | 71,578 |
| | | 634,016 |
| Ugrians | Tshuvash | 8,352 |
| | Mordvins | 5,200 |
| | Tsheremis | 2,626 |
| | | 16,178 |
| | Germans | 1,034 |
| | Gypsies | 85 |
| | | 1,119 |

To these add some Votiaks, Teptyars, Kalmucks, and Poles, of which the numbers are undetermined.

Orenburg, then, is the Bashkir Government, and next to Orenburg—though at a long interval—Perm. So that the direction of the Bashkir area is northward.

The Bashkirs of the present century are as truly Turk both in language and feature as the Kirghiz, or the (so-called) Tartars themselves. They are Tartar, too, in their habits; their industry and agriculture being of a very imperfect kind, and wholly subordinate to pastoral habits. They are breeders and feeders of cattle, rather than tillers of the soil, or occupants of towns; but they are bee-masters even more than they are shepherds and herdsmen.

In religion they are Mahometans, like so many of the other Turkish populations.

*Bashkir* is the name by which they designate themselves, and *Bashkir* is what the Russians and (I believe) the so-called Tartars call them. The Kirghiz, however, call them *Ishtaki*—a form of the name *Ostiak*.

During the period of the Khanates the Bashkirs were chiefly subject to that of Kazan.

A.D. 1555, however, three years after the battle which broke the power of the Tartars of the Volga, the Bashkirs submitted themselves to Russia and her victorious Czar, Ivan Vasilievitsh. He is said to have ruled them gently, to have protected them well, and to have laid upon them a tribute of skins far lighter than the one they paid to their old masters the Khans—the Khan of Kazan (as aforesaid) most particularly; but besides him, there was a joint possession of the Bashkir country by one of the Nogay Khans, as well as by the Khan of Siberia. Each of these kept up his claims on the Bashkirs after the fall of Kazan, and harassed the eastern portion of their country. The Kirghiz harassed the south. The nearest city was Kazan, and thither the Bashkirs resorted, to pay their tribute of peltry, and to supply themselves with salt from Permia. At length, however, the city of Ufa was built in their own land, at once as a metropolis and a defence.

The Khanate of Kazan and Astrakhan had fallen, but that of Siberia still remained; destined to become Russian sooner or later, but not destined to be conquered *directly* from Muscovy. It was previously overrun and broken-up by the Kirghiz, whose wars were first against

the nations of Siberia for conquest, and then against the Russians for defence. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries give us the epoch of these Kirghiz wars. Then and afterwards the Bashkirs became malcontent, rebellious, unmanageable, formidable; and the Bashkir insurrections, three in number, between A.D. 1672, and A.D. 1735, threatened the integrity of the Moscovite empires. The first, the rebellion of '72, had at its head the Bashkir noble Seit, and it is known as Seit's rebellion. For three years the insurgents, along with their Kirghiz allies from Independent Tartary, ravaged the country beyond the Kama, requiring the whole force of the Don, Yaik, and Ukrain Kosaks, along with that of the Stelitzes of the empire, to coerce them.

More formidable still was the one of A.D. 1707, coinciding in time with the revolts of the Kosaks under Mazeppa and others, and with the Swedish invasion of Charles XII. But it was only in their dates that the movements coincided. They were cotemporaneous without being connected,—had they formed parts of a system of combined operations, the genius and energy of even Peter the Great might have been over-taxed. As it was, the excesses of the insurgents had to be covered by an amnesty. Of this, Aldar and Kusyum were the leaders, and they succeeded in uniting not only the whole Bashkir population, but also a large proportion of the Kazan Tartars. The towns of Ufa, Birsk, and Menselinsk were ravaged, and it was not until the insurgent army was within thirty miles of Kazan itself that it was repulsed.

A.D. 1735, the *Orenburg line* was established, by which I mean a March or Border guarded by Kosaks, just as the

debateable districts on the Scottish and Welsh frontiers were guarded, in the middle ages, by the Lord Marches and their companies. The danger to such independence as they still preserved was transparently visible to the twice irritated Bashkirs. A son of Kusyum headed them, and their resistance lasted six years—1741 being the last year of the last of the three great Bashkir rebellions. The affair of 1774 was a minor one. The Kosaks of the Yaik, under Pugatshev, rebelled, and the Bashkirs lent a hand. Since then they have been quiet. The leading men of the rebellion of '35 were banished, and a line of wooden fortresses was erected in their country.

Since '41, too, the Bashkirs have themselves taken on more or less of the character of the Kosak, and submitted to a military organization. Instead of paying the tribute of peltry, they serve as soldiers; sending an annual relay of 1,500 men to act with the Kosaks to the Yaik.

The ancient nobility is broken, so that the leading individuals in the different *volosts (lodges, encampments)* are the *Starshin (judges, captains)*. With these, the fountain of honour springs in Russia; in other words, they are officials. They decide disputes; they take the command of the detachments sent on military service; they promulgate the ukases. Russia appoints, and the Bashkirs pay. Each Starshin has his clerk or secretary, who is generally a Meshtsheriak.

The great Bashkir locality is on the eastern side of the Uralian range, on the Upper Mias, in the neighbourhood of Tshelabinsk, to the north of Troisk. Here there are the three cantons; the centres of a kind of Bashkir representations. Each has its head, elected by the people of the

division at large. This head resides in his canton, and, to make sure of his proper bearing towards Russia, surrounds himself with a sort of Council of Russians—generally (I quote from Müller) "adventurers of the lowest kind." The other functionaries are, in like manner, Russian.

The Bashkir is the settled occupant of a definite locality only during the winter; when he confines himself to his *Aut*—a village, or encampment, of from ten to fifty huts of wood, built after the Russian fashion. During the summer months he wanders from feeding-place to feeding-place with his cattle, of which the horses are the most important elements. Of these a Bashkir of ordinary means will own twenty or thirty; the richer as many as 500; the wealthiest of all no fewer than 2,000. Camels are scarcer and more local. The extent to which they are bee-masters has been already mentioned. Their dress is that of the Tartars with a few differences of details—chiefly in the matter of the caps. The other customs are Turk (or Tartar); also their practice of the bridegroom purchasing his bride of her parents, of his calling the price he has to pay for her the *Kalym*, of his paying it in cattle; also the habit of fermenting the milk of his mares, calling it *kumis*, and getting intoxicated thereon, &c.

*The Meshtsheriaks.*—The distribution of the Meshtsheriaks is nearly that of the Bashkirs; indeed, the former are often described as a population mixed up with the latter. Orenburg, therefore, and Perm, we expect to find as their chief districts. And this is what they really are.

*Meshtsheriaks in—*

| | |
|---|---|
| Orenburg ..... | 71,578 |
| Permia ..... | 5,783 |
| Saratov ..... ..... | 2,580 |
| Penza ..... | ? |
| | 79,941 |

They are Turk in speech, and Mahometan in creed, though considered to be Ugrian in blood. They are, probably, too, immigrants—their original locality being on the Oka, in the neighbourhood of the Mordvins and Tsherimis.

In the rebellion of '35, the Meshtsheriaks kept on the side of Russia, and were rewarded by being freed from their previous tribute, and having the privileges of the Kosaks extended to them.

In 1770, the number of Meshtsheriak families was 2000, the individuals (say) 15 or 16,000. Unless these numbers apply to the Government of Orenburg alone, they have increased.

*The Teptyar.*—When the Khanate of Kazan became Russian, a mixed multitudes of Turks, Tsherimis, Votiaks, Tshuvash, and Mordvins, fled to the east of the Ural. Out of these has arisen a population which the Turks call *Teptyar*—a population which, like the Meshtsheriaks, kept to the side of Russia during the Bashkir rebellion, and became a privileged population accordingly. They are Mahometan rather than Christian, and (probably) Pagan rather than Mahometan. Their habits in general are those of the Bashkirs. Some of them are employed as carriers in the salt trade between Orenburg and Kazan.

I find no notice of any Teptyars (at least under that name) in the map and tables before me; the present notice being taken solely from Müller (*Ugrische Folkstamm*, i., pp. 160—162).

## CHAPTER XII.

THE TURK STOCK CONTINUED—THE KIRGHIZ—THE TRUKHMEN—THE KARA-KALPAKS—THE KHIVANS—THE NOGAYS.

THE Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kaisak, of the Government of Astrakhan, amount to 82,000—a sum, probably, given in round numbers.

It is not, however, on account of their prominence in the tables before us that they deserve notice. In the Asiatic parts of the Russian empire they are very important indeed, however little they may be in the European.

It is through the Kirghiz country that the caravans go from Orenburg to Bokhara, and from Bokhara to Orenburg, by the way of Khiva; so that the Kirghiz country is one of the roads in the direction of India. Such a high-way as it is now, it has always been; the high-way from the Oxus to the Volga, from the Paropamisus to the Ural. Caravans have laboured across it from the beginning of time; flying masses of cavalry have swept across it; armies have attempted (and partially accomplished) its transit.

The monuments with which the whole area abounds indicate the antiquity of its history; an antiquity which transcends the period of written records and coins; an antiquity which goes up to the æras of the great Iranian and Turanian dichotomy of the nations of Asia—the Iranian family with its civilization represented by the magnitude and wealth of the Persian empire, and the Turanian hordes of nomade conquerors—fierce, barbarous, and maranding devastators. What Germany and Sarmatia were in Europe, the Kirghiz country, along with Mongolia eastwards, and Turkestan on the south, was in Asia. It was the quarter whence Europe, India, China, Persia, and Anatolia were equally assailed. It was the quarter to which one of the two great conquering families can most especially and most directly be traced. Whether it was the very oldest occupancy of that family, is another question.

The whole Kirghiz area abounds in monuments—even as the Khanates did. They fall into groups, and that in the eyes of the Kirghiz themselves as much as in those of the Russian traveller or the English archæologist. The Kirghiz, for instance, draw a clear and definite distinction between those that belong to their own people, and those which go back to an older period of which he has no certain knowledge. The former they call *Uba;* the latter, *Moly.* The Uba, or the *old* graves, are elevated mounds, as varied in form as our own barrows. They stand chiefly on hills, and in groups—sometimes as mere *tumuli* of earth, sometimes with a cairn of stones or stone walling super-added. They abound on the north-east side of the Kirghiz area, and in the direction

of the Mongolian—also within the latter. The humbler and less conspicuous *Moly* are found in the drier and more barren districts; a fact, in the way of distribution, worth noticing. In the traditions of the Kirghiz themselves, the *Uba* are the remains of a people called *Myk*.

The same origin is probably attributed to a ruin near the Mongolian frontier, described by Meyer as being built of granite, with walls enclosing a space twenty-eight feet square, and which is an object of superstitious reverence to the Kirghiz of its neighbourhood. The same, too, to other buildings less definitely noticed; but which are said to be spread widely over the vast area under notice.

We may be said to be in the middle of the Kirghiz area when we cross the water-shed between the drainage of the Caspian, the Aral, and the multitudinous minor lakes of the basins thereof on one side, and that of the Polar Sea on the other; the drainage of the Yaik, although falling into the Caspian, being considered to be Kirghiz only for its eastern feeders—and that but partially. The Ishim, however, a considerable feeder of the Obi, is Kirghiz.

What used to be, and ought to be, *Independent Tartary*, finds its northern natural boundaries in the Kirghiz frontier. South of the water-shed there are two great basins (those of the Caspian and the Aral), and there are unnumbered smaller ones. There are also two great rivers (the Oxus and the Jaxartes), and there are numerous smaller ones. There are no great mountains, however; for the western range of the Altai sinks into low hills, no more than 400 or 500 feet high, long before we

meet with the eastern and south-eastern spurs of the Uralians. As we approach these two ranges the face of the country improves, even as we expect it will do. The streams, instead of being but spring-torrents, filled by the melting of the winter's snow, run perennially, and the vegetation grows green and free. In the central parts of the waste, especially in the range between the two great lakes, the converse finds place, and the soil is sandy and poverty-stricken. The hills and streams determine the lines of traffic.

It is only the northern part of Tartary, no longer *Independent*, that is exclusively Kirghiz. The south or south-eastern parts are Uzbek. The valley of the Oxus (Amour) is Uzbek; so is the valley of the Jaxartes (*Sirderia*). The Khanate of Khiva—important for its relations to Bokhara, Persia, and India—is Uzbek. The western and south-western parts are Turkoman.

On the east, the Kirghiz are in immediate contact with the Mongols of Dzungaria, subjects to China; and as some portion of their area extends over the frontier, there is a section of their population under the rule of the Celestial empire. Others are under the Khan of Khiva; some Independent; the fourth division Russian.

Except, perhaps, the Uzbeks and some of the Siberian Turks of the more extreme physiognomies, the Kirghiz are the most Mongol-like members of their stock. Their language, on the other hand, is eminently Turk. I merely repeat myself, in indicating the gratuitous nature of all assumptions which account for this Mongol character in a Turk population by the hypothesis of intermixture. The physical conditions of the Mongol and

Turk areas attain, with the Kirghiz, their greatest amount of similarity. The suggested intermixture is hypothetic.

The division of the Kirghiz is threefold; and we have the Kirghiz of the *Great*, the Kirghiz of the *Little*, and the Kirghiz of the *Middle*, Hord. The adjectives, however, mislead us. The *Great* Horde is by no means so large as its name indicates; the *Middle* being the largest. It comes, however, first in our notice.

Its area lies beyond the boundary of the Russian empire, beyond even the range of Russian influence; being the most eastern of the three, on the frontier of the Uzbek Khanate of Kokend. Though not the most numerous, it contains the most dangerous and savage of the Kirghiz; either plunderers of every caravan that passes through their country, or levyers of black-mail as the price of passing it unpillaged.

The Little Hord lies between the Caspian and the Aral—wild and unmanageable, though less so than the Kirghiz of the Great Hord.

The drainage of the Ishim, the head-waters of the Irtish, the Dzungarian frontier, the steppe to the east of Aral —these are the districts of the Middle (the largest and least savage) Hord; of which the leading tribe of the *Naiman* is under the dominion of China. *Naiman*, too, is the name of one of the primary Uzbek divisions in the truly-Uzbek Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara. Another name of a Kirghiz tribe of the Middle Hord is the one of which we have already heard so much—*Kiptshak;* a name which suggests the old and difficult question of the original relation between the Turk and Mongol stocks, and the analysis of the Turko-Mongo-

lian (or Mongolo-Turk) conquests. Saving the details just indicated, so unfavourable towards the Great and Little Hordes, in respect to manners and temper, the three divisions constitute but a single population; the numbers of which may, upon the whole, amount to something under three millions; the number of families, as given by Levshen, being—

| | |
|---|---|
| For the Great Horde ..... | 100,000 |
| —— Little ..... ..... | 190,000 |
| —— Middle ..... | 500,000 |

Although, in general, the Kirghiz are of middling stature, individuals of what Müller (I presume after Levshen, who resided amongst them for some years officially) calls "gigantic" size, are to be found amongst them. The measurements would have been of greater value than the epithet. A good deal of evidence is required to make the critical ethnologist believe in a tall Kirghiz. Their skin is a deep brown, heightened by dirt and smoke; the colour being as much the effect of the heated atmosphere of their tents in winter, as of the dry heat of the summer sun. In habits they are idle; in temper, fickle and uncertain. Between China and Russia, they have contrived to play a part which makes them distrusted on both sides; and until the strength of the latter kingdom was unmistakeably felt, the Kirghiz wars and the Kirghiz inroads were formidable. On the other hand, the men are temperate, hardy, and cleaner than their Mongol neighbours—though still very dirty. Add to this, that they are thoroughly hospitable. When they have come in contact with the Russians, and applied themselves to smith's or carpenter's work, they have

proved quick and docile. Their robberies are but little stained with blood; and their cruelties but rare.

The Kirghiz recognize three ranks—the nobles, the free, and the slaves; and, as part of the system that gives them their nobility, they attach great importance to purity of blood and pedigree. The head of each family is the *Sheik*. The *Bahadur* is the chief in war—sometimes, however, called *Beg*, or *Sultan*. *Sultan* is the title for the kinsmen of the *Khan*—which is the highest title recognized. The Khan has power of life and death, checked, however, by the influence of the subordinate nobles. To these the ordinary Freeman stands in the light of a Vassal. Slavery, which is of the domestic kind, is light and easy. Sometimes it arises out of war and captivity; almost as often, however, out of debt. In the latter case the condition of the *Nexi* of ancient Rome repeats itself, and the impoverished debtor lets himself out as a slave, for a limited time, to his creditor, paying-up his arrears in the shape of personal service. Some of the Kirghiz own as many as 20,000 sheep—an important article of trade with the towns and villages in the southern parts of Siberia.

Mahometans as the Kirghiz are, they retain much of their original Paganism; indeed, they are Mahometans of the loosest and most imperfect kind. The older graves—the *Uba*, as they have been called—are objects of superstitious reverence; and when a Kirghiz dies, he is generally buried as near them as he can be.

The organization that prevails among the Kirghiz of the Russian area is as follows:

The divisions are the *Aul*, the *Wolost*, and the *Okrugi*,

or the *encampment (lodge)*, the *village*, and the *arcle.*

The *Aul* (a Turkish word) is under the jurisdiction of *Elders;*

The *Wolost* (a Russian word), under that of *Sultans;*

The *Okrugi* (Russian), under that of a *Prikas* (Russian). The *Prikas* is a kind of *Divan* or *Council*, consisting of two Kirghiz and two Russian assessors, with one of the oldest Sultans as its head, chairman, director, or president.

In 1823, the great Kirghiz settlement of Kar Karaly, in the country of the Middle Hord, was, (I write from Müller, who follows Mayer,) at the request of several of the Sultans, placed under Russian protection. At first it paid no tribute at all; afterwards, however, a certain amount of cattle was to be paid. The president of the Prikas, Kirghiz Khan, was to be chosen by the Kirghiz themselves, for a period of three years, but to be paid by Russia. For the defence of the Prikas, and for the support of its authority, a body of 200 Kosaks and 40 infantry, (with some pieces of artillery,) is settled on the spot. The locality is one of the most favoured in the whole area, well adapted both for corn and cattle, and about 250 versts (a verst is three quarters of a mile) from Semijarsk, with which it is connected by means of five Kosak stations.

This represents the later movements of Russia in these parts. The earlier began about the beginning of the 18th century, and on the side of the Caspian, with the Kirghiz of the Little Horde. The time was one of turbulence and confusion. On the east, the Dzungarian Mongols, the lords over a large portion of the eastern

Kirghiz, exchanged their independence for submission to China. The movements thus effected extended over the whole area. Abulkhair, the Khan of a great part of the Little Horde, then called in the protection of Russia, several tribes of the Middle Horde doing the same. In 1732, Abulkhair and Shemyaka, another Khan, took the oath of allegiance to the Czar. Disturbances, however, continued. There were Kirghiz inroads upon the Bashkir districts; and Kirghiz inroads upon the Kalmuks of the Volga; inroads which ended in the establishment of the Orenburg line of Kosaks, the event of such importance in Bashkir history. Then Abulkhair died, and factions arose about the succession. The Chinese, too, now masters of Dzungaria, intrigued. The caravans to Bokhara got plundered more than ever. The remedy to all this was Baron Igelström's plan, which was, to change the constitution by taking the power away from the Khan, and distributing it amongst the secondary Elders or Nobles. *Divisit et imperavit.* The scene of this division was the Little rather than the Middle Horde, which now ran a risk of being broken-up. Some of its tribes joined the Middle, some went over to the Uzbek Khanate of Khiva; some, probably, joined the Turcomans on the South; finally, a division of 10,000 families, under the headship of Bakei, son of Narali, and grandson of Abulkhair, made its way into the Government of Astrakhan, settling itself on the left bank of the Danube. The return of a portion of the Kalmuk population, previously occupant, to Dzungaria, had left room for them. In 1812, Bakei was declared their Khan, and has since been succeeded by his son. Such is the history of the

Kirghiz of the Government of Astrakhan, the only ones which appear in our map and tables.

The present condition of the rest of the Horde is as follows: The number of Khans is three. They are elected by the people at large, but take their investiture from Russia. Russia also limits their powers in respect to the life, freedom, and property of their subjects. Finally, she has provided, since 1806, each of them with a body of paid councillors or assessors.

The name Kirghiz cannot be said to be altogether strange to the population to which we apply it; since it is applied by the Little and Middle Hordes to the Great one. Neither is it quite unknown as a designation of the two others. The *native* name, however, is not *Kirghiz*, but *Kasak, Kaisak*, or *Kosak (Cossack)*, a word upon which further remarks will be made in the sequel.

*The Karakalpaks (Black Caps).*—Settlers in winter, but migratory during the summer, the Karakalpaks occupy the east of the Lake Aral, and belong partly to Khiva, partly lie under the protection of Russia. They are in geographical contact with the Kirghiz; are said, however, to be no old occupants of their present area, but, on the contrary, immigrants from the parts on the Upper Obi.

There are a few Karakalpaks (60) in the Government of Astrakhan, and some more in Orenburg and Perm. Of the latter, however, the numbers are not given.

In *Asiatic* Russia they are of somewhat greater importance; and this is why they are noticed here. The same is the case with—

*The Khivans.*—The Khivans of *European* Russia amount—

| | |
|---|---|
| In Astrakhan to ..... | 190 |
| — Saratov..... | 25 |
| | 215 |

More will be said about them, as Uzbek Turks, in the concluding chapter.

*The Trukhmen.*—Word for word, *Trukhmen* is the same as *Turkoman*, except so far as it has come to us through a Russian rather than a Persian channel. It applies, however, to a different locality, and to a somewhat different population.

The *Turkmans* occupy the parts due north of Persia, and harass the Persian frontier from the south-eastern extremity of the Caspian Sea to the confines of Caubul.

The *Trukhmen* are distributed as follows: in

| | |
|---|---|
| Astrakhan to the number of ..... | 1,600 |
| Stavropol ..... | 5,271 |
| Taurida..... | 450 |
| | 7,321 |

*The Nogays.*—Like the Kirghiz, the Nogays are more like the Mongolians in face than speech, and, like the Kirghiz, they have given rise to the hypothesis of an intermixture. According to Klaproth, whom I follow in the present notice, they call themselves *Mankat*—a name not unlike that of *Mongol*. In the beginning of the 17th century they occupied the country between the Tobol and Yaik. From these quarters they were pressed westwards

by the Mongols. From the Government of Astrakhan, Peter the Great transplanted the majority of them to the banks of the Kuma and the Kuban, in the present Government of Caucasus.

To the north of the upper part of these rivers, between Georgievsk and Stavropol, the Nogay tribes of the Kasbulat, the Kiptshak (observe the name), the Mang-gut, the Yedi-san, the Dzham-bulat, the Yedi-kul, and the Navrus reside. The Mansur-ogli belong to the other side of the Kuban.

The Zhukhan-Kangli and the Kabil-Kagli-Agakli lie to the north of the Black Sea. Thirdly, we have—

The Budziaks in Bessarabia; and fourthly, a tribe with a peculiar and separate history; viz.,

The Kundur, on the Aktuba, one of the mouths of the Volga. These are called by the Russians the Kundur Tartars. They change their residence with the season. In the winter they resort to the town of Krasnoyarsk on the *Caspian* (there is another Krasnoyarsk on the Yenisey), and dwell in houses: in the summer they occupy the ordinary felt-tent of so many Turk populations. These Kundur were the Nogays who remained behind in the Government of Astrakhan when Peter the Great effected the removal of the others.

Of the Nogays from beyond the Yaik, it is only natural to expect traces in parts to the east of their present occupancies; and this is what we find. The Bashkir Government of Orenburg is full of traces, real or accredited of the Nogays—the *Gorodishtshes* being attributed to them. This is a word which wants explaining: it is a derivative of the word *Gorod*, meaning *town*; as in

*Novo-gorod*, or *New-town;* and it is the technical name for such remains of old cities, fortresses, or villages as are found in the numerous archæological localities of southern, eastern, and we may add northern, Russia. The *Gorodishtshe*, then, is the remains of a town (or fortress), so that, in the eyes of a Russian, *Pompeii* or *Palmyra* would be *Gorodishtshes*. Wherever, however, we find a *Gorodishtshe*, the occupancy of the living, we find, also, remains of the burial-memorials of the dead. This is what we expect. The converse is not so general. There are many places where tombs are found, but no *Gorodishtshes*. Now, the burial-remains of Orenburg, the present Bashkir area, are as remarkable as those of the towns or fortresses. And these have their Russian names also.

A *tumulus* of earth alone, or with only a few stones mixed up with it, cairn-wise, is called a *Kurgan;* whereas—

A *tumulus* with brick or stone chambers, containing, over and above the skeleton of the deceased, arms or ornaments, is a *Mayaki*, or a *Slants*.

In these *Mayaki* and *Slants* the arms are of copper, the ornaments of gold; so that the Scandinavian archæologist would, at once, attribute them to the *bronze* period. The Bashkir refers them to the time of the Nogays.

Again, the division of the Bashkir country is into four *streets, roads*, or *ways*, according to the countries to which lines of traffic which pass through them lead. One of them is the Nogay-*street;* the others being the Siberian, the Kazan, and Osa—Osa being a town on the Kama.

The Nogays of the Crimea read the hasty speculator, as to the permanency of nomade habits, a lesson of caution; though it is only what numerous other tribes do. The Nogays of the Crimea are the descendants of a colony planted in the western part of the Government of Taurida from the Steppes between the Don and the Caspian; where their brethren lead the life of the true nomade, with migratory flocks and herds, under black tents of felt. The ones under notice, however, are as truly stationary and as steadily fixed to their homes and farms as the Russian himself, the German, or the Englishman. So far from their being impracticable, migratory, and unsteady in their industry,—so far from their preferring the tent to the village, and showing a repugnance to farming-work, the very converse is the fact. "The Nogais are, alas! the least numerous of the Tartars of the Crimea. They combine the taste for a nomadic life with the cultivation of the soil. They are the best agriculturalists in the Crimea, and they now begin to settle in villages and to deal in cattle. It is a pity that this laborious and agricultural population is too small for the cultivation of the Steppes." (*Mémoires de l'Academie de St. Petersburg.* Serie vi., tom. i., p. 36.)

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE TURK STOCK CONTINUED—TARTARS (SO CALLED) OF SIBERIA—TURKS NOT DESCRIBED UNDER THE GENERAL NAME OF TARTAR—THE TOBOL, UFA, AND TOMSKI TARTARS—THE TURALI—THE TSHULIM TURKS—THE BARABINSKI—THE VERKHO-TOMSKI—THE TUBINTSI—THE TELEUT—THE SOKHALAR OR YAKUTS.

WE have yet to go farther, both east and north, before we have done with the Turk stock. We have to go beyond the Obi, beyond the Yenisey, beyond the Lena, beyond the Arctic Circle. We shall find them on the shores of the Arctic Sea; we shall find them beyond the frozen expanse of the great Lake Baikal. They will require, too, some criticism; inasmuch as they fall into two, if not more, classes; classes that are by no means broadly and definitely distinguished from each other.

We have hitherto found nothing but Mahometans. Our Siberian Turks will be Mahometan, Christian, and Pagan.

We have hitherto made our comparisons, in the way of physical formation, with the Osmanli and the Mongol. We shall soon hear of Turks with a Samoyed, a Lap, or even an Eskimo, physiognomy.

We have hitherto only alluded to the Khanate of Siberia, and notified its existence. It will now become an element of criticism of some prominence and importance.

Some of the Turk tribes of Siberia will bear specific names, such as Teleut, Beltyr, &c.

To others the general name of *Tartar* will be applied; so that we shall hear of the Tartars of Tiumen, the Tartars of Tomsk, &c.

Each division, however, is Turk; *i. e.*, the one is, in reality, just as much, or just as little, Tartar as the other. Wherein, then, lies the difference? I imagine it to have a real foundation in fact, and that the so-called Tartars are in one of two predicaments. Either—

They are deducible from the most eastern members of the movement by which Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea were *Tartarized;* or they are emigrants from some of the European Governments into which those Khanates have fallen—their essential character lying in their comparatively recent settlement in the parts of which they are the occupants.

The others, it is imagined, are *indigenous,* not only to Asia, but to those particular areas in which they are found, in the same way that the Turks of Independent Tartary are Asiatic; *i. e.*, they lie *in situ,* occupants of their respective localities, if not from the earliest times, from the times anterior to history.

For the sake of further illustrating this distinction, let us suppose that there existed in Germany, at one and the same time, a population descended from those Angles who, instead of conquering Britain, stayed at home, and

also a series of English settlements from England. The difference and likeness between these two classes of English, would be that between the so called *Siberian Tartars* and the *Turk tribes of Siberia.*

The parts between 52 and 58 N. L., on the water-system of the Obi are the chief *Tartar* (so called) districts; which begin when we get east of the Governments of Orenburg and Perm, and extend to the parts about the Yenisey. The Tobol, Ishim, Irtish, and Obi are the chief rivers; and Tobolsk, Omsk, and Tomsk, the leading towns; not that these latter are Tartar, but that they lie in the Tartar districts.

*Tobolsk Tartars (so called).*—These we find about Tiumen on the Tura, a feeder of the Tobol, where they are in contact with a Bokhara population settled in these parts.

Also, about Tara, on the Irtish; the tribes being six in number—the Osta, the Ali, the Kundei, the Sarga, the Tav, and the Otus.

*The Ufa Tartars* are those of the Governments of Orenburg, in its capital and the parts around it. The Turks, with a specific appellation with which they come in contact, are the Bashkirs.

*Tomsk Tartars (so called).*—The chief tribes here are Tshazi, the Ayus, and the Tayan. These lie on the River Tom, from Kusnezk to below Tomsk. N. L. 55, cuts their area. They are tillers of the soil, breeders of cattle and horses, and carriers in the trade with China.

The Tartars already enumerated are Mahometans *of long standing—i. e.*, Mahometans from a time anterior to the beginning of their history. Such being the

case, they may fairly be presumed either to represent the Tartars of the Siberian Khanate, or to be colonists from those of the Crimea, Astrakhan, or Kazan—Kazan, most especially.

With Mahometan populations *of long standing*, the comparatively recent occupation of their present localities is a fair inference. They are either descendants from the first Mahometan invaders, or they are descendants of colonists from the other side of the Ural, subsequent to the Russian conquest—oftener, perhaps, the latter.

On the other hand, (or rather, at the other extremity,) with a population of *Pagans*, we have a widely different inference, though one of equal ease in the drawing. It is indigenous to Asia—probably, to its actual locality.

The cases of recent conversion from Paganism to Mahometanism are in the same predicament. They may be dealt with as so much actual Paganism. So may cases of Christianity, when the converts are known, previous to their conversion, to have been either Pagans or newly made Mahometans. This is *primâ facie* evidence of old occupancy.

The difficulties arise when we have either Mahometanism of an uncertain date, or Christianity which may as easily have been preceded by Paganism as by Mahometanism. They also arise where there is a mixture of creed.

The preceding populations created no great difficulty. What, however, is the case with the next section?

The *Turali* (in Russian, *Turalinzi*,) have been occupants of the banks of the Tura since the 13th century at least.

When Yermak, the conqueror of Siberia, first fell in with them, their town was Tshingi or Tshingi-tura. This he reduced. At his death, however, the Turali revolted and required a force of Kosaks from Moscow to coerce them. These founded in 1586 the oldest of all the Russian towns in Siberia—Tiumen.

The parts about Tiumen are localities for both *Kurgans* and *Gorodishtshes.*

The habits of the Turali are those of the Kazan Tartars, only somewhat ruder. The so-called Mongol physiognomy is common amongst them. Their language is considerably mixed with both Russian and Ugrian.

The *Turali* are imperfect converts from Mahometanism to Christianity; the Tobolsk Tartars, pure Mahometans. What was the age or standing of this Mahometanism from which the Turali were converted, I cannot say. If recent, they must be dealt with as a Pagan population, and, as Pagan, ancient. If of long standing, they are in the category of the Tobolsk Tartars.

*The Tshulim Turks.*—These lie between the Upper Obi and the Yenisey. Their language is said to contain many Mongol (Buriat) words. It is also said (an important fact, if verified,) to resemble that of the Yakut. The Tshulim physiognomy is also Mongoliform. Like the Bashkirs, they are half nomadic and half agricultural. Like the Turali, they are Christian rather than Mahometan—more Pagan, perhaps, than either. Number, about 15,000. The Tartars of the Obi lie to the north of them—the Tartars of the Obi having the same relation to these Tshulim Turks that the Tobol Tartars had to the Turali.

*The Barabinski.*—The Doab, Entre Rios, or Mesopotamia, bounded by the Rivers Obi and Irtish to the west and east, and by the parallels 52° and 60° N. L., is the Baraba, Barabinzi, or Barabinski Steppe. This is the Russian form. The native name is Bara-*ma*. This *m* may be one of two things. It may be a change from the sound of *b*, or it may be the *ma* in such words as *Ma*-rahwas, the *native* name for Esthonia. In this latter case it means *land;* and Bara-*ma* may be the land of the *Bara;* the *Bara* (a suggestion rather than aught else) being *Avar*-s. At the conquest of Siberia the Baraba were under the Khanate. From this the Russians freed them. When, however, the Khirghiz and Dzungarian movements began, the Baraba joined in them. They were reduced at the beginning of the last century; having been troublesome as robbers on the frontier. In 1730 the Line (or March) of the Irtish was established. The cheerless country, wide as it is, contains but few Russians and not more than about 10,000 Baraba.

They are Mongol-like in feature, with a marked form of speech, and an imperfect and recent Mahometanism; they occupy (like the Turali and Tshulim, the Tobol, and Obi, and Irtish Tartars) a region of Kurgans, and Gorodishtshes. The number of their tribes (in Russian *Volost*) is seven, each with its *Yauta* or head—viz., the Langga; the Lubai; the Kulaba; the Barama; the Tsoi; the Terena; and the Kargala.

*The Virkho Tomski.*—The relations between the Tshulim Turks and the Tartars of the Obi, the relations between the Turali and the Tobolsk Tartars, reappear on the River Tom. The Tartars of the Tom lie between Kusnezk

and the junction with the Obi; the Verkho-Tomski tribes lie above Kusnezk. *Verkho* means *Upper*, so that the *Verkho* Tomski tribes are the tribes of the Upper Tom.

*The Abintsi* are a portion of the Verkho-Tomski. The Tsumush, the Kondoma, and the Mrasa are their Rivers.

The *Kashtar*, *Kashkalar*, or *Katshintsi* are, probably, in a similar predicament, except that they lie beyond the unimportant watershed that separates the drainages of the Obi and the Yenisey, and occupy the *Katsha* (whence their name), a feeder of that River.

The *Dzharin* (Russian, *Dzharintsi*) lie east of the Yenisey, between Karaûlnoi and Abakansk, their rivers being the Onash, the Kom, and the Syda.

The *Yastalar* or *Yastintsi* (the form in *-lar* is Turk, that in *-tsi* Russian) are mixed with the *Kashlar*.

The *Bokhtalar (Boktintsi)* are on the Kom, to the east of the Yenisey, below Abakansk.

The *Kaidin* are on the same side, above Abakansk.

The *Tubalar (Tubintsi)* on the Tuba (the names of the tribes, it may have been observed, are chiefly those of the rivers), are said to be Samoyed (we are near the *Soiot* area) in blood, and Turk only in speech. They are mixed with some of the Katshar tribes.

One of the names by which they are known is Kyrgyslar-Khirghiz. This gives us a measure of the extension of that denomination.

All these are more or less nomadic.

*The Beltyr.*—On the right bank of the River Abakan (on which stands *Abakansk*) dwell the Beltyr, a small

tribe, possibly in the same category with the *Tubalar; i. e.*, more Samoyed than Turk.

*The Biryus.*—On the river so called.

*The Teleut.*—(In Mongolian, *Telenggut.*) These live on the Lake Altin (or *Teleskoi*), a Lake which has the same relation to the Obi that the Lake of Constance has to the Rhine, or that of Geneva to the Rhone. It is within (or on) the Mongol area, and the Teleuts are supposed to bear the same relation to the Turk and Mongol that the Tubar do to the Turk and Samoyed.

Such are the minor tribes. We now proceed to a large one.—

*The Sokhalar or Yakuts.—Sokhalar* is the native, *Yakut* the Russian name.

The town of *Yakutsk* takes its name from being the metropolis of their area. The great Yakut River is the Lena. Turk populations thus far north, and thus far east, are what we scarcely expect—Turk populations on the shore of the Arctic Sea and in the latitude of the Samoyeds and Yukahiri.

"The Jakuhti," writes Strahlenberg, whose account I subjoin, are "a Pagan people—one of the most numerous Pagan tribes of Siberia, and [it] consists of the following tribes:—1. Boro-Ganiska. 2. Baitungski. 3. Badys. 4. Jock-Soyon. 5. Menga. 6. Kangalas. 7. Namin. 8. Bathruski. 9. Lugoi. 10. Bolugur. All which together make about 30,000 men, who pay scot and lot. They call themselves Zacha, from the name of one of their ancient princes. But the name of that prince, who headed them at the time when they separated from the Bratti, who live near the Baikallian Lake, with whom

they were formerly united as one nation, was *Deptzi Tarchan tegin.* They do not worship Bullwans, or idols carved in wood, like the Ostiaks and Tungusii; but they offer sacrifices to an invisible God in heaven; yet they have a type or image of that Deity stuffed out, with a monstrous head, eyes of coral, and body like a bag; this image they hang upon a tree, and place round it the furs of sables and other animals. Each tribe has one of these images. Their priests, whom they call *Biuhn,* make use of drums, like the Laplanders; they worship the Invisible God under three different denominations, *Artoyon, Schugotoygon,* and *Tangara,* which three names are called by them *Sumans* (*i. e.,* sacred). What Isbrand Ides (in his Travels, p. 132) relates, concerning these people, is all true; excepting the custom of burying alive, or killing the oldest servants, or favourites of a prince, at his funeral, which is abolished; but they still own, that formerly, before the Russians were amongst them, they were used to do so. They have, besides, many superstitious customs, in common with other nations, which they celebrate about certain trees, that they look upon to be sacred: when they meet with a fine tree, they presently hang all manner of nick-nacks about it, as iron, brass, copper, &c. Their priests, or *biuhns,* when they perform their superstitious rites, put on a garment trimmed with bits of iron, rattles, and bells. As soon as the fields begin to be green, each generation gathers together, at a place where there is a fine tree, and a pleasant spot of ground. There they sacrifice horses and oxen, (as a new year's offering, their new year beginning in April,) the heads of which they stick up round the trees, and on the

heads of the former they leave the skin. They then take a certain liquor which they call *cumises*, sit down in a circle, and, after having lifted up the jug with both hands, they drink to one another: then they dip a brush in the *cumises* and sprinkle some in the air, and some into the fire, which they light up on that occasion. On this festival they get wretchedly drunk, and gorge themselves to that degree with meat, that, it is said, four persons will commonly devour a whole horse. Nay, some will strip themselves stark naked, that nothing may confine or hinder them from extending their paunches; this they continue so long, till some breathe their last on the spot. These people are very nasty; they seldom, or hardly ever, wash themselves; they will eat the flesh of oxen, cows, or horses, but no pork, be they never so hungry: but then they never mind whether the cattle be sick or sound; for they indifferently kill and eat it. If the meat has had but one boiling up, it is done enough for them; they never skim the pot, but look upon the skum to be the fattest and best part of all, and therefore distribute it about as a great dainty. The vessels in which they stamp their dried fish, roots, and berries, are made of dried oxen and cow's dung. Their cattle stand in the same room or hut where they themselves dwell; the floor of their huts is terrassed even and smooth. They eat bread, when they can get it, but it is no usual part of their diet, because they neither plough, sow, nor plant. They eat but little salt, yet sometimes they take salt in exchange for other commodities. They are fond of smoking Chinese schaar or tobacco, for which they truck with the Russians. In February and March is their har-

vest, when the sap rises in the trees; for then they go into the woods, cut down young pine-trees, take off the inner bark or bast, which they carry home and dry for their winter's provision. They then beat it to a fine powder, boil it in milk, and eat it together with dried fish, also beat to powder. They shift their habitations in the same manner as the Tobolskian Tartars do. Their winter houses or huts are square, made of thin planks and beams: the roof is covered with earth, and a hole is left in the middle, for the smoke to go out. Their summer dwellings are round, and in the shape of a sugarloaf; the outside shell of these huts is made of the bark of birch-trees, curiously joined together, and embroidered with horsehair dyed of many colours. A hole is also left at the top for the smoke to pass through. They make their chimneys of fire-places in the middle of their huts, where they also fix a pothook to hang their pots on, which they make themselves, as they also do their kettles, which have only an iron bottom, the sides being made of the bark of birch, which they have a way of joining to that iron bottom so tight and close, that it will not only hold water, but that the flame of the fire cannot burn it. They bury their dead divers ways: the most eminent among them pitch upon a fine tree, and declare that they will be buried there; and when the corpse is buried, they put some of the best movables of the deceased along with him into his grave. Some only put the corpse upon a board, which they fix upon four posts, in the wood, cover the dead body with an ox's or horse's hide, and so leave it. Some, again, put the body in the ground. But the greater part of them, when they die,

are left in their huts, whence the relations take the most valuable things, make the huts up close, and then leave them. Those who die in the city of Jakuhtskoi, are left lying in the streets, where they are frequently devoured by dogs. Each tribe of these people looks upon some particular creature as sacred, *e. g.*, a swan, goose, raven, &c., and such is not eaten by that tribe, though the others may eat it."*

In the Yakut country the ethnologist first finds signs of America. The name *Yakut*, unless we have recourse to the convenient doctrine of accident, cannot well have been taken by those who first applied it to the Sokhalar, from any language except either the Eskimo or some form of speech akin thereto. There was, at some time or other, someone on the parts about the Lena, who called someone *Yakut*. Now, the American Eskimo on the Lower Kwikpak, have, as their name for *men* or *people*, the word *tshagut*. In the Aleutian Archipelago this becomes *tagut* or *yagut*. I believe this to be the root of the name *yakut-at* in Prince William's Sound.

So that *yagut (yakut)* is an Eskimo word; and at the same time a name in use as far from both America and the Aleutian Islands as the River Lena. How came it there? The name was *not* native. Nor yet Koriak. Nor yet Yukahiri—*that we know of*. In the present state of our knowledge, it is only the Eskimo tongues that supply this gloss. As far, then, as it goes, it is evidence in favour of a tongue allied to the Es-

* STRAHLENBERG'S "North and Eastern parts of Europe and Asia," p. 380.

kimo having once been spoken as far westwards in Asia as the Lena. For the encroachment which must have displaced it, we have considerable evidence. The Yakut themselves are evidently recent; the Koriak traditions bring them from the south. The Yukahiri language is remarkable for its isolation, and isolation implies displacement.

Again—the Yukahiri gives us something American; though it, by no means, lies on the surface.

In the Eskimo dialects the numeral *two* is denoted by some such forms as *malhkhok*, *maggok*, *malgok*, *malgukh*, &c. In several of the dialects of Western America, far south of the proper Eskimo area, this same word occurs.

In the Koriak dialects, by which the Yukahiri is separated from the Eskimo, no such form occurs. *Two* is represented by a wholly different root.

In Yukahiri, *antachlon* = *two*; no sign of the form in *malg-* being visible.

For all this, *malg* is the Yukahiri for *two*. In that language *yalon* = 3, and *yelakhlon* = 4; whilst 6 (or 2 × 3) is denoted by *malg*-i-alon, and 8 (or 2 × 4) by *malg*-i-allatshlon.

This is one of the most instructive cases I have ever met with; for it thoroughly shows the extent to which the numeration of two languages may consist of the same elements differently combined. When the names for two were simply compared, nothing but difference was detected; yet the difference ceases when we get to multiples of that number. Is this an accident? It is certainly no effect of intercourse, inasmuch as the languages wherein it occurs are not in contact.

If we make a transition from the Arctic Sea to the parts about Caucasus, we shall get near the end of the numerous details of the Great Turk stock.

At present, however, we have to consider—

*a.* The *true Caucasian* Turks of Caucasus.

*b.* The *Trans*-caucasian Turks of Erivan, &c.

The true Caucasian Turks are not met with until we get *south* of the Rivers *Terek* and *Kuban;* for the words "*true Caucasian*" mean, not a native of the Russian *Government* of Caucasus, but an absolute mountaineer of the great Caucasian range; a man in the geographical condition of the Circassians, the Tshetshents, the Iron, the Lesghians, and their allied tribes. Indeed, they are not met with, at first, even on passing the Kuban. The southern bank of that river from its bend to near its head-waters, although Turk, is not "*true Caucasian Turk.*" It is Nogay—the Nogays being only the Turks of the *Government* of Caucasus. The tribes on the left bank of the Kuban are the Navrus and Mansur. A strip of Kosak occupancy on the opposite side divides them from their allied tribes of the Mangut, Kasbulat, Yedisan, &c.

North of Derbend, there is a patch of Turk population, the *Kaitak*, or *Kara-Kaitak*, of recent origin, and, as such, not truly Caucasian.

South of the mouths of the Terek, and along the shore of the Caspian, lie the Kumuk.

But the true district of the Mountaineer Turks of Caucasus is foot of the Great Elbruz Mountain; the watershed between the Terek (east) and the Kuban (west). The valleys and mountain gorges of the former are the

occupancies of the *Basian* Turks; those of the former, of the *Karatshai.*

These two divisions are in contact; but they are both separated from all other Turk populations.

The Basian are in contact with the Iron; the Karatshai with the Circassians.

*The Turks of Transcaucasia.*—The lower parts of the Rivers Kur and Aras are more or less Turk—Turk in contact, and in irregular mixture with Georgian, Armenian, and Persian; the Turk of Erivan, Karabaugh, Shirvan, &c.

The introduction of this branch of the Great Turk family is, probably, referrible to the eleventh century. Speaking roughly, we may say that it came into the parts south of Caucasus, at the same time that the Norman-French came into England. The Seljuk Turks introduced it. These belong to a period anterior to the times both of Tamerlane and Dzhingiz. Gibbon's account of them is as follows:

The same great game of conquest and invasion that was practised by the Turks on the European side of their area, was practised by the Turks of the south and south-eastern frontiers; the line being in the direction of India, Persia, and (from Persia) Asia Minor; the starting-points, Bokhara and the country of the Turkomans.

At the beginning of the eleventh century (say when Canute was reigning in England) Mahmud was sovereign over Cabul and part of India; his capital being Ghazni; his general designation, Mahmud the Ghaznevid. Mahmud was of Bokharian rather than Turkoman blood;

perhaps an Uzbek. Togrul, the grandson (real or imaginary) of Seldzhuk, was a Turkoman of Turkestan rather than a Bokharan. His allegiance to Mahmud's successor sat lightly on him. He organized the predatory bands of the Turkomans, overran Khorasan, Syria, Asia Minor (Anatolia), Armenia. Out of one of the Khanates that arose out of the conquests of the so-called Seldzhukian Turks, arose the Osmanli power; also that of the present Turks of Asia Minor, and the Russo-Turk and Russo-Persian frontiers. The Turks that the conquests of the Seldzhukian line, under Togrul (or Orthogrul), Shah Malek, Alp Arslan, and others of less note may have brought into Asia Minor and Armenia, may be called the *Seldzhukian* Turks. In like manner we may call those who were diffused (along with the true Mongols) by the victories of Dzhindzhiz-Khan, the *Temuginian;* Temudzhin being the original name of that hero; Dzhingiz-Khan being a *title* rather than a name. The followers of Timur, and their descendants, we may call *Timurian.*

The Turks of the Transcaucasian Provinces of Asia belong to the same migration with the Turks of Asia Minor (Anatolia), or the Anatolian Turks. The Anatolian Turks are *Seldzhukian.* Such, at least, is the current doctrine.

## CHAPTER XIV.

THE SARMATIAN STOCK—ITS DIVISIONS AND SUB-DIVISIONS—POINTS OF CRITICISM.

THE Ugrian stock has been investigated, and also the Turk. The latter has claimed much of our attention, but the former more. This is because, important as the Turks were as invaders, it was the Ugrians who were indigenous to the soil, the Ugrians who were the older possessors, the Ugrians who formed the basis of the population. Unless we believe that the females of the numerous hosts that overran Muscovy were proportionate to the males, we must believe that the blood of nine-tenths of the present Muscovite area is Ugrian on the mother's side. We believe this to be the case in the more eastern parts, without hesitation. We believe it also, without hesitation, in the case of the more northern ones. With the centre we begin to doubt; and we doubt still more with the south-western districts. With these last our doubts are reasonable. They are no less so with the central Governments. Podolia, Volhynia, and the Bukhovinian frontier of Bessarabia, are probably out and out Sarmatian—Sarmatian on the side of the males, Sarmatian

on the side of the females—Sarmatian (as a Scandinavian would say) on the *sword*-side, Sarmatian (as the same Scandinavian would say) on the *spindle*-side. But the centre was, almost certainly, Ugrian.

That the class denoted by the word *Sarmatian* is of greater range and compass than the ordinary group to which the Russians, the Servians, the Poles, the Bohemians, and the allied populations are usually referred, has been already stated. This group bears the name *Slavonic*, or *Slave*. But, with the use made of the term *Sarmatian*, the Slavonians become a subordinate division, a single branch; the Lithuanian populations constituting the other.

*Sarmatian* means *Slavono-Lithuanic*, or (if we prefer the expression) *Lithuano-Slavonic*.

The present Sarmatian class (I repeat a portion of my first chapter) contains—

A. The Lithuanians of Lithuania, along with the Lets of Livonia and Courland—to which may be added the Old Prussians, whose language was spoken so late as the 16th century, a language of which we have specimens. All Prussia was Lithuanic as opposed to Slavonic.

B. On the other hand, the Slavonians as opposed to the Lithuanians are, or were—

1. *a*. The Bohemians. *b*. The Poles. *c*. The Kasub of the Rugenwalde district of Pomerania. *d*. The Sorabians of Silesia and Lusatia. *e*. The Slovaks of Hungary, who are, probably, transitional to the other branch; and, *f*. The Linones of Lunenberg, whose language has only become extinct within the last two centuries.

2. *a.* The Servians, Bosnians, Herzogovinians, Croatians, Illyrians, Carniolans, Carinthians, Dalmatians. *b.* The Great and Little Russians. *c.* The Bulgarians (more or less mixed).

A glance at the ordinary mass gives us the area occupied by this vast Sarmatian stock. The considerations suggested by the Prussian Kassub, Sorabian, and Linonian forms of speech, add to it. Two of them have ceased to exist within a comparatively recent period—the Prussian and the Linonian. The other two are spoken in isolated districts; districts wherewith no other allied form of speech is in contact; districts which lie like islands in the midst of a vast sea of foreign dialects—Slavonic themselves, but with everything around them German.

The palpable inference from this is, that the Slavonic area, on the side of Germany at least, has been diminished, has been encroached upon, has witnessed the phenomenon of displacement—sometimes complete, as in the case of the Prussians and Linonians; sometimes incomplete, as in that of the Sorabians and Kasub, which remain as fragments of a previous population—a population once continuously and uninterruptedly Slavonic. But this *inference* is well-nigh superfluous; inasmuch as we get at the fact it gives us by a more direct, straightforward way. *History* tells that in the time of Charlemagne, the Elbe was the western limit of the Slavonians, and the eastern one of the Germans. The inference, nevertheless, is worth the drawing.

If we now move to the eastern side of this great Sarmatian area, we shall find, that, in proportion as we ap-

proach Asia, the uniformity of dialects increases, and the difference decreases—allowing for the admixture of foreign words on the side of the Ugrian and Turk areas. The Russian is spoken by more than five times as many individuals as all the other Slavonic tongues put together; yet it is spoken with less than half the variety of dialect. The inference from this is, that its extension is comparatively recent. But this is an inference *ex abundanti*. History tells us, that in the time of the father of Russian history—Nestor, the monk of Kiov, who lived in the 12th century—a great deal of what is now Russian was then Ugrian. Nevertheless, we have improved our criticism by drawing it.

What has taken place within the last thousand years may have taken place a millenium earlier—two millenia, three millenia earlier, or more. And the history of these periods is open to investigation. History will not help us over-much here. Nine-tenths of our results must be inferential.

I shall lay my own views before the reader, devoting the present chapter to a general view of the whole Sarmatian stock. Some portions of it, it is true, lie beyond the pale of Russia, and it is only the ethnology of Russia that the present volume illustrates. At the same time, to say nothing about the enormous magnitude and importance of the Russian element itself, no less than four of its divisions are absolutely Russian.

With the exception of some Little Russians, Rusniaks, or Ruthenians, under Austria, and occupants of Gallicia, all the Russians belong to the territory of the Czar.

A large third of the Poles do the same.

So do many Bulgarians, and many Servians.

So do nearly all the Lithuanians.

The Bohemians, the Slovaks, the Sorabians, and the Kasub alone lie wholly beyond the Moscovite pale—the Croatians, Bosnians, Herzogovinians, Dalmatians, Illyrians, Montenegriners, &c., being little more than modifications of the Servians.

To exhibit in full either the details or the principles of the criticism, by which I attempt the re-construction of the original area of a stock which has not only changed its localities freely, but changed them in a very complicated manner—now encroaching on its neighbours, now itself encroached on—would be to write a bulky volume instead of a short chapter. It will not be attempted. I shall give little beyond the result of my inquiries; forewarning the reader that, in many very important points, they are widely at variance with the opinions of investigators with whom I differ with diffidence and hesitation. I shall give the results only—the results, with the exception of a series of four preliminary statements.

These refer less to the line of criticism I adopt than to certain current doctrines, which are so incompatible with my deductions, as to make it necessary for me to ignore them—to ignore them altogether, and to say that I do so; to say that I do so, and to give a slight sketch of my reasons for doing it.

1. A great many of my inferences depend upon the fact of the present Slavonic populations of Servia, Bosnia, Herzogovinia, and part of Dalmatia, being the oldest known occupants of their present area. A great many of the current doctrines depend upon the fact of their

being comparatively recent occupants. The evidence of this is taken from Constantine Porphyrogeneta, who enlarges upon the origin of what he calls the *Krobati of Delmatia (Croatians of Dalmatia)*. They came, he says, from a district lying beyond the Carpathians, near *Bagibareia (Bavaria)*, and the land of the Franks.

In this, their mother-country, was the residence of the *Unbaptized*, the *Great*, the *White* Croatians—the *White* Croatians, whom the Greeks called *Aspri*-Krobati, and the Slavonians *Belo*-Krobati. The date of their descent was the 7th century—the time of Heraclius. No early author mentions this; the date of Constantine Porphyrogeneta being A.D. 940, or 300 years after the supposed events. This alone is an objection—but it is increased by (at least) two facts:

*a.* The fact of there being populations named *S-rb*, and localities named *K-r-b-t*, in both the parts about Dalmatia, and the parts north of the Carpathians; the reason for this being the case lying, not in the fact of the one population being deduced from the other, but in that of both the names being common to different parts of the Slavonic area. Constantine's doctrine was an *inference* only.

*b.* The fact of there being special evidence to the existence of Serbs, or Croatians, in the parts wherein Constantine places them as settlers of the 7th century, long before that date.

2. A great many of my inferences depend upon the fact of several populations, occupant of that part of Europe which is described under the name of *Germania*

by Tacitus, being other than German; notwithstanding the fact of Tacitus placing them in Germany. A great many of the current doctrines depend upon the doctrine of everything that Tacitus places in *Germania* being German. I admit that the term *Germania* is *prima facie* evidence of this being the case. But (to go no further in the way of special objections) it may safely be said, and it is generally admitted, that of all the populations east of the Elbe which Tacitus, in the second century, called *German*, no single vestige appears in the tenth. On the contrary, everything is *Sarmatian*. How is this? Was the original statement erroneous, or has subsequent change taken place? No general answer can be given to the question. It depends upon the credibility of the author on the one side, and the likelihood of the changes assumed on the other. If the changes are probable, and the author unexceptionable, the decision is in favour of the change. If the author, however, be exceptionable, and the changes such as have never been previously known, the converse is the case. Between these extremes there is every intermediate degree. The changes may be of average magnitude, and the author of medium credibility. All this, however, merely shews that the balance between the conflicting difficulties is easily struck in some cases, that in some it is difficult, and in others almost impossible.

A certain amount of migration and displacement is necessary. If Germans were the original occupants of the parts in question, the Sarmatians must have superseded them therein.

The likelihood or unlikelihood of this must be tested in several ways.

To consider only the question of extent: the assumed migration must have been unsurpassed, perhaps unequaled, by any other within the historical period. When the Germans of Charlemagne, and his successors, conquered (or re-conquered) Transalbian Germany, there was neither trace nor record of any previous Germanic occupancy. Yet such previous occupancy rarely occurs without leaving signs of its existence. Sometimes there are fragments of the primitive population safe in the protecting fastnesses of some mountain, forest, or fen, whose savage independence testifies their original claim on the soil.

There were no *traditions*. The supposed conquerors knew of no *indigenæ* which they replaced: no *indigen æ* complained of the stranger who dispossessed them.

*Saxon* as is England, the oldest geographical terms are *Keltic;* some of the original names of the rivers and mountains remaining unchanged. The converse is the case in Transalbingian Germany. The older the name, the more surely is it Slavonic.

The assumed displacement must have been the greatest and the most absolute of any recorded in history.

Great part of a whole volume (the *Germania* of Tacitus with ethnological dissertations and notes) has been devoted by the present writer to the consideration of the extent to which the assumptions necessary to reconcile the usual interpretations of Tacitus, in respect to the limits of the German stock with the known state of things in

the ninth century, are legitimate; the decision being in the negative. For this reason, he abstains from any further illustration of the principle upon which he has allowed himself to consider all that part of the *Germania* of Tacitus which lies east of the Elbe, not German, but Sarmatian.

3. A great many of my inferences depend upon the fact of several populations whose names consist of some modification of the word *Goth*, being, not necessarily, and for that reason, connected with the *German* Goths of Alaric, Theodoric, and the other Ostro-*goth* and Visi-*goth* kings; and consequently not necessarily German. A great number of the current doctrines assume, that whatever is *Gothic* is also German. Now, it is a fact, too often overlooked, that no German tribe so long as it occupies a portion of the soil of Germany bears the name *Goth*, or any modification of it. They only take it when they have settled in the country of the *Getæ* or *Gaudæ*, a fact which makes the name just as foreign to the Teutonic dialects as *Briton* was to the Anglo-Saxon. From which it follows, that all other populations which were, in respect to their *name*, in the same predicament as the Goths of Alaric and Theodoric, were connected, not with the German invaders, but with the occupants of the country invaded; just as the Bretons of Brittany are connected, not with such Englishmen as call themselves patriotically and poetically Britons, but with the Welsh representatives of the original occupants of the Keltic island *Britannia*.

In bringing within the same class all the populations

denominated Gothini, Gothones, Guttones, Gothi, Gautæ, Gaudæ, Getæ, Jutæ, and Vitæ, I only do what nine out of ten of my predecessors have done before me. I differ, however, from them in making the Goths of Alaric and Theodoric *Gothic*, only in the way that the English are Britons, or the Spaniards Mexicans.

4. A great many of my inferences are incompatible with the current explanation of a remarkable but undoubted philological phenomenon; *viz.*, the similarity between the ancient language of India and the Sarmatian languages. It has long been known that the ancient, sacred, and literary language of Northern India has its closest grammatical affinities in Europe. With none of the tongues of the neighbouring countries, with no form of the Tibetan of the Himalayas, of the Burmese dialects of the north-east, with no Tamul dialect of the southern part of the Peninsula itself, has it half such close resemblances as it has with a distant and disconnected language spoken on the Baltic—the Lithuanian.

As to the Lithuanian, it has, of course, its closest affinities with the Slavonic tongues of Russia, Bohemia, Poland, and Servia, since the Slavonic and Lithuanic are two branches of the same Sarmatian stock. But when we go beyond the Sarmatian stock, and bring into the field of comparison the other tongues of Europe, the Latin, the Greek, the German, and the Keltic, we find that, though the Lithuanic is more or less connected with them all, it is far liker the old Indian.

Now, the botanist who, finding in Asia, extended over a comparatively small area, a single species, belonging to a genus which covered two-thirds of Europe, except so

far as he might urge that everything came from the east, and so convert the specific question into an hypothesis as to the origin of vegetation in general, would pronounce the *genus* to be European. The zoologist, in a case of zoology, would do the same.

*Mutatis mutandis*, the logic of the philologue should be that of the naturalist. Yet it is not.

1. The area of Asiatic languages in Asia allied to the Sanskrit, is smaller than the area of European languages allied to the Lithuanic; and—

2. The class or genus to which the two tongues equally belong, is represented in Asia by the Sanskrit division only; whereas in Europe it falls into three divisions, each of, at least, equal value with the single Asiatic one—the Gothic, the Sarmatian, and the Classical (Latin and Greek).

Nevertheless, the so-called Indo-European languages are deduced from Asia—in the mind of the present writer, wrongly.

To recapitulate: the re-construction of the original Slavonic area, as it will appear in the present chapter, implies—

1. That the statement of Constantine as to the Transcarpathian and recent origin of the Dalmatian, Servian, and Croatian Slaves, goes for nothing.

2. That the fact of certain populations, like the Lygii and others, finding place in the *Germania* of Tacitus, does the same.

3. That no inferences in favour of populations called *Goth-*, *Gutt-*, *Jut-*, *Gutton-*, *Gothin-*, or *Get-*, being German, be drawn from the fact of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths having been German.

4. That with two allied forms of speech, one spoken in European Russia and the other in Asiatic India, the original character of the Asiatic, and the derivative character of the European, are by no means to be assumed.

Such are my postulates—postulates, however, only in the short and sketchy form they are obliged to take here. Each stands upon special grounds of its own, and by no means upon the assumption of the validity of the present results. These grounds may be sufficient or insufficient. The reader is only assured that the writer is guarding himself against arguing in a circle.

Such points of criticism being indicated, we may now attempt an exhibition of the original area of the Sarmatians in general, to be followed by a similar indication of the earliest limits of the different divisions of the great stock they constitute. The period to which this attempt goes back is a geological rather than an historical one, and we get at it by that palæontologic line of reasoning which characterizes geology and archæology, rather than by means of any evidence on the part of writers. Indeed, such evidence is out of the question; inasmuch as the epoch with which we deal is long anterior to the invention of the alphabet, as well as to the existence of the earliest known monument, record, or tradition.

Let us make our date 2,000 or 1,500 years B. C.; not much less, because the amount of subsequent change which we have to account for must be supposed to begin early. Nor yet much earlier. This is upon the principle of not unnecessarily multiplying our number of years.

The other families or stocks occupant of Europe are held to be those of the present moment; the assumption

that any one has become absolutely extinct, being considered unnecessary. It is believed that even the Old Etruscans are more safely referred to some existing class, than dealt with as the representatives of some separate substantive class of *equal value with* those already recognized. If so, the primary divisions of the European populations are—(1) the Keltic, 2 the German, (3) the Latin and Greek, (4) the Sarmatian, (5) the Ugrian, (6) the Iberian or Bask, (7) the Skipitar or Albanian. What we have now, we are assumed to have had 2,000 or 1,500 years B. C., *in kind, but not in degree.* Some covered more ground than at present, some less; so that there has been both increase and decrease of area. More than this; one and the same stock shall have enlarged its area in one direction, and have had it curtailed in another.

The Sarmatians have done this. In the east and north, they have encroached; in the south and west, they have retreated. Hence, their history is to be got at by the *method of exclusion.* If we know what ground has been lost by their right-hand, and what has been gained by their left-hand, neighbours, we get the original Sarmatian area as the residue.

The stocks that have lost the ground that the Sarmatians have gained, are the seventh and fifth of our list—the Skipitar (or Albanian) and the Ugrian.

These will be noticed first.

A case may be made in favour of the original area of the preserved Albanians being carried somewhat farther northwards, and considerably further eastwards. I think it doubtful whether ancient Macedonia and ancient

Thrace were, *at the very earliest*, Sarmatian. I think they were, more or less, Albanian or Skipitar. At the same time I think that a Sarmatian occupancy, both of those two countries and of the parts beyond, had taken place before history began. This view eliminates Macedonia, and Thrace (the parts south of the Balkan), from the original area of the Sarmatians.

The Ugrian area is not only more difficult in its reconstruction than the Albanian, but it is one of greater importance. The denial of the Asiatic origin of the so-called Indo-Europeans (except so far as all the varieties of the human species may be believed to have originated in Asia) involves the denial of what is called the Fin hypothesis: this meaning, that anterior to the migration of the Sarmatians, Germans, Latins, Greeks, and Kelts from Asia, the whole of Europe was Fin (Ugrian), the Basks of the Pyrenees being so at the present moment; the Basks of the Pyrenees being so at the present moment, and, as such, the important, ancient, and interesting representatives of a population which was once spread continuously over France and Germany, to Scandinavia and Russia, where the main body, though broken and divided, still exists *in situ*.

Such is the Fin (or Ugrian) hypothesis; a great guess, which I once admitted as a great fact. But, though the Ugrian hypothesis, in its fullest sense, may be unsafe, a vast extension of the Ugrian area, both southwards and eastwards, may be legitimate—this being a matter of degree, a case of *more or less*.

Ordinary criticism carries it in the south, as far as the Dnieper; and I think that a not improbable amount

of refinement upon this would give us a case for adding to it the valleys of the Bug, the Dneister, and the mouths of the Danube. I do not say that the Skipitar and the Ugrian stocks once met in Bulgaria, or on the Danube, or at the Balkan; but I do believe that the Slavonians which now lie, and at the beginning of the historical period, lay between them, are intrusive.

Turning from south to north, from the Ugrians of the Black Sea to those of the Baltic, we may repeat our doctrines.

Ordinary criticism carries them to the Pregel; refinements upon it, to (I believe) the Elbe. At any rate, it is not absolutely necessary to make the Lithuanians of Prussia, and the Slavonians of Pomerania, the oldest occupants of these localities. I can even see (though indistinctly) the way to the older populations of parts so far south and west as the Hartz, being, *in the very first instance*, Ugrian. The Sarmatian and German encroachments of aftertimes, even with their assumed magnitude at its *maximum*, are, by no means, inordinate.

The Ugrian and Albanian are the divisions that have lost ground to the Sarmatian. Those that have gained it are the German, the Latin, and (I think) the Keltic. In respect to the first, it is only necessary to repeat what has already been stated; viz., that in the 9th century the Slavono-German frontier was the Lower and Middle Elbe, the Upper Elbe being wholly Slavonic. The insufficiency of the reasoning that makes these Slavonians a secondary population, immigrant and intrusive on a previous population of Germans, has been indicated.

The Slavonians of Carinthia and Carniola, *in situ* as these are considered to be, had, probably, at a time anterior to the spread of the Roman arms, *some* extension southwards—some extension, little or much. This, however, is, in the present work, of no great importance. Of more importance is the question—what extension westwards had the Slavonians of Bohemia and Lusatia? I think, that before the displacements on the Upper Rhine and the Upper Danube, effected by the Kelts and Germans, and before the Roman conquest of Rhætia and the reduction of the Agri Decumates (Wurtemburg), the Keltic and Slavonic areas met—the Slavonic reaching as far as the Rhine westwards, the Mayne northwards, and the Lake of Constance (at least) southwards.

Such our limitations—such our extensions. What do they leave as the original Sarmatian area? As a convenient central point, Bohemia? As parts between Bohemia and the circumference—

*Northwards*—Saxony, Silesia, Lusatia, Brandenburg, Posen, parts of the Duchy of Warsaw, Bialystock, Grodno, Vilna. (?)

*Southwards*—Upper Austria, Lower Austria, the Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Croatia.

*Westwards*—The drainage of the Regnitz, Altmuhl, and the southern feeders of the Mayne, parts of Bavaria Wurtemburg, the Vorarlberg, part of Switzerland.

*Eastwards and S. E.*—Moravia, Hungary, Transylvania, Gallicia, Bukhovinia, parts of Podolia, Volhynia, Bosnia, Servia.

This I submit to the reader as the original Sarmatian area; this being very nearly the only portion of Europe

for which I have not found (little or much) *some* evidence of an earlier and *Non*-Sarmatian population. It is submitted to the reader as being, at one and the same time, sufficient for the phenomena of migration and conquest which are deduced from it, and also compatible with the areas necessary for the ethnology of all the other stocks.

The area that has thus been mapped out, is that of the Sarmatian stock in general. Which parts of it were Lithuanic, which Slavonic? Of the Slavonic parts, which were more Russian than Polish, which more Polish than Russian, which intermediate? I believe that, with the allowance of a moderate margin for uncertain facts and uninvestigated details, these questions are capable of solution.

The Bohemian division of the Slavonic branch of the Sarmatian stock lies beyond the pale of our present investigations. Still more so do what we may call the *Rhætian* and *Vindelician* groups; the groups to which the Slavonians of ancient Bavaria, ancient Wurtemburg, and part of ancient Switzerland, belonged. The Polish branch, on the other hand, commands our attention.

The original area of such Slavonic Sarmatians as were more Polish, Lusatian, Kasub, and Linonian, than Russian or Servian, I place in Silesia, Lusatia, Brandenburg, and Saxony—perhaps in some of the countries beyond, but not necessarily; we must remember the case that can be made out for the lower parts of the Oder being, in the very earliest times, Ugrian, and also be informed that the presence of Lithuanians in Gallicia is a probability. We must remember, too, that the present

Poland is a country easily overrun, that the Poles who hold it have ever been an encroaching population, and that the uniformity with which the Polish language is spoken over a large area is *primâ facie* evidence of recency of diffusion. Let the Upper Oder be the nucleus of this family.

The original area of such Slavonic Sarmatians as were more Servian or Russian than Polish, Lusitanian, Kasub, or Linonian, I place in Servia, Bosnia, and Croatia—in Hungary and Transylvania—in some countries, perhaps, beyond; but not necessarily. I should not like to say, that, early as certain Slavonic populations were occupants of the eastern parts of Mœsia and Dacia (Bulgaria and the Danubian principalities), there may not have been Albanians, Ugrians, or Lithuanians (one or all) before them. The drainage of the Theiss and Save is a convenient nucleus for this section.

To the Lithuanian branch I give, at least, the upper part of the drainage of the Vistula, and the watershed between that river, the Dnieper, and the Dneister. Some Lithuanians were, at one time, as far south as Gallicia. On the other hand, the traces of Ugrian occupancy are not found south and west of Grodno. Grodno, then, Volhynia, with parts of Podolia, Poland, and Gallicia, may be given as the nucleus of the Lithuanians—of course, provisionally and hypothetically; the conditions of the hypothesis being as before; viz., that the suggested areas are sufficient to explain all subsequent migrations and movements from them, and are compatible with those assumed for all the other populations both of Europe and Asia. Sufficiency without interference—this is the rule to go by.

It has given us the above-named centres, nuclei, or starting-points for the migrations, conquests, and diffusion of our three allied sections of the Sarmatian stock; and that for the earliest period; a period anterior to history. If we lay this at 1000, 1500, or 2000 B.C., we only do so for the sake of fixing our ideas; the date being purely conventional. Let us choose the last, and carry back our imagination to the 20th century before the Christian æra. There is, as aforesaid, no history here—no history, but so much palæontology instead. Here we have our subject in the form that, whilst it most recedes from that of the annalist, most approaches that of the geologist.

By A.D. 1000, the converse will have taken place, and the special histories of Russia, Poland, and Lithuania will have either begun, or be about to begin. The ethnological methods will then give way to those of the civil historian; inference to testimony.

The ethnological history of the Russian, Polish, and Lithuanic areas for the 3,000 years that lie between our conventional date of B.C. 2000 to our real one of A.D. 1000, will form the subject of the next two chapters—the first of which will be devoted to the branch to which the Russians belong, the other to the Lithuanians.

## CHAPTER XV.

THE RUSSIAN (OR SERVIAN) DIVISION OF THE SLAVONIANS—PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD—SCYTHIAN—GREEK—ROMAN—GERMAN—SCANDINAVIAN PERIODS.

In Servia, Bosnia, and Croatia,—in Transylvania and that part of Hungary which is drained by the Theiss,—was spoken, at the earliest period to which our inferences lead us up, a language of which the two extreme forms are represented by tongues spoken at the present moment, the third and intermediate one being extinct. By this I mean that, on the south, the modern Servian, with its allied dialects, is descended from the language of the aborigines; and I also mean that, on the north, the Rusniak of Gallicia, Bukhovinia, Little Russia, represent the original tongue of the oldest occupants of Northern Transylvania. These two forms of speech are, at the present moment, allied to each other; but the language of the intervening country is not, *at the present moment*, allied to either. It is, undeniably, of recent origin; the dialects it displaced having been, originally, more or less, Russian, Servian, or intermediate to the two.

This continuity of the Slavonic area on the Middle Danube is an inference. It is also an inference that that extended itself. Before the time of Herodotus the Lower Danube must have been, more or less, Slavonic; so must Thrace, Macedonia, and parts of Greece; the Albanian being one of the stocks encroached on. But the encroachment was not simply Slavonic: the Getæ of the Lower Danube I hold to have been Lithuanians rather than Slavonians.

Offsets of these Danubian-Slavonians were settled in the present Russian Governments of Kherson and Taurida. (?) Besides which, there were Sarmatian offsets on the Don and Volga, as well as in Asia Minor. Whether these were Slavonian or Lithuanic is undecided. Sarmatians, too, had penetrated as far as India; though, here again, the Slavono-Lithuanic analysis is difficult and doubtful. All that was neither Getic nor Turk, at the time of Herodotus, I consider to have been Slavonic; Servian Slavonic or Russian Slavonic, rather than Polish. But, as I also believe that the ancient name *Dac*-us, the Byzantine form Τζεχ-οι (used by a writer A.D. 1180), and the modern designation of the Bohemians *(Tshek)*, to be one and the same, we must be prepared, on the appearance of the names *Dacia* and *Dacian*, to admit some internal movements amongst the sub-divisions of the Danubian Slaves, and the probable intrusion of certain tribes which are Bohemian rather than Servian. There are some other difficulties and details for these parts and times. Still, upon the whole, it is safe to say, that the populations of the parts between Servia, the Carpathians, and the sea, were more Russo-Servian than aught else.

We have considered the directions in which the area of the Danubian Slavonians may have extended itself. Let us now ask how it was encroached on. The old and formidable name of *Scythian* now presents itself. The Scythians of Herodotus called themselves Skoloti, being Scythians only in the eyes of their neighbours. Five centuries B.C. they were in the Crimea, in the steppes of of Taurida, and in the Governments of Kherson and Ekaterinoslav. They were intruders. Independent Tartary was their original area, and the Turk the stock to which they belonged. Ugrians of the Don and Volga may have joined them. In the main, however, they were Turks. To the north of the Carpathians it was the southern and western members of the Ugrian that they displaced; and along with these the more eastern Lithuanians; probably, also, some of those Slavonians of Transylvania and Hungary, whom we may reasonably presume to have, by this time, crossed the Carpathians and become occupants of parts of Gallicia, Bukhovinia, and Bessarabia—if they were not there originally. In the direction of Caucasus, it is reasonable to suppose that tribes allied to the remote ancestors of the present Circassians, were displaced by this great Scythian or Skolotic inroad; indeed, plausible traces of very early Caucasian occupancy can be found as far as the Danube. The Skoloti extended westwards as far as the drainage of the Maros, in Transylvania—so far, at least; possibly, farther. Their northern frontier is uncertain.

I believe this Scythian period to have been of considerable duration; although the interval of nearly seven centuries between the time of Herodotus and the time of

the next author who supplies us with any history for these parts, is preeminently obscure. The author in question is Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century of the Christian æra. His area is that of Herodotus—there or thereabouts. His populations are the Alani and the Huns. They are allied, but different. The Alani are tall and good-looking, with yellow hair. The Huns, much the contrary.

The Alani occupied the present Government of Caucasus, and the frontier of Circassia: since they are specially stated to have been conterminous with the Zæchi, and to have spread themselves in the direction of Media and Armenia.

The western parts of the Government of Caucasus, Taurida, and Kherson, formed the area of the Huns.

Next came the Grutungi, conterminous with the Alani of the Don. How near the Grutungi came to the Tanais is uncertain. They spread, at least, to the valley of the Dneister. Here was the "vallis Gruthungorum."

The Thervings lay between the Dneister and the Danube; and besides the Thervings, the Thaifalæ on the River Gerasus *(Kara-su)*. Now, the Grutungs and Thervings were German.

The Huns drove the Grutungs and Thervings (the Goths, as they are mostly called) across the Danube—from Dacia into Moesia and Thrace, from the modern *Moldavia* or *Bessarabia*, into *Bulgaria* and *Rumelia*. But the quarrels between the Goths of Moesia and the Romans begin, and the Huns and Alani—no longer enemies, but allies—side with the former.

Then come the times of Attila, the son of Mundzuk.

He began to reign A.D. 433; and, over and above the notices of his battles, we find in Priscus references to as many as five embassies, viz., in A.D. 433, 441, 448, 449, 450—this last being abortive and incomplete. In the one A.D. 448 Priscus took a part. Gibbon has abridged the account of it. A.D. 448 was the time; and the royal camp or court of Attila, between the Theiss and the Danube, the place. In A.D. 453 Attila died.

What were his acts and what his power? Both have been much exaggerated—by Gibbon as much as by any one. He overran Italy, Greece, Thrace, the countries on the Lower Danube, and penetrated as far into Gaul as Châlons. He claimed either a subsidy or a tribute from the Romans of the Eastern Empire. He seems to have entertained the plan of an incursion into Persia—at least, the practicability of making one was one of the topics which Priscus heard discussed during the embassy. He spread his negotiations as far as Africa.

In these we have the measure of his operations. They were undoubtedly great; though not greater than those of other conquerors of the time.

His method was that of a politician, quite as much as that of a soldier. We hear of as many, or more, embassies than campaigns during the reign of Attila.

The nations that fought under his banner were numerous; but some fought as allies, not as subjects.

> "Barbaries totas in te transfuderat Arctos
> Gallia, pugnacem Rugum, comitante Gelone;
> Gepida trux sequitur, Scirum Burgundio cogit:
> Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Basterna, Toringus;
> Bructerus ulvosa vel quem Nicer abluit unda
> Prorumpit Francus."—SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, vii. 320.

Between the Scythians or Skoloti of Herodotus, and the Alani and Huns of Ammianus, we get a vast amount of displacement; displacement that refers sometimes to the Slavonians of the parts about the eastern Carpathians out of whom the conquerors of Russia originated, and sometimes to parts of what was afterwards Russia.

What was the character of the movements by which this displacement was effected? Were they simple or complex, few or numerous? Was there one for the Skoloti, one for the Alani, one for the Huns? Did the Scythians come in early, and go out early? And did the Huns come in late? If so, there were two or more Turk migrations. Now, I state with as much confidence as a negative assertion will allow, that, whatever may be the actual details of the Hun history, there is no need of any migrations later than that of the Scythians to bring them into Europe, *and there is no evidence of such.*

I also state, that, whatever may have been the actual details in the history of the Scythians, there is *no evidence of their having either been ejected from their European occupancies, or extinguished as populations.* The only definite fact is a change of the names by which the populations of a certain portion of Europe are known. Hence it is suggested, that the history of the populations akin to the Hun, from the fifth century forwards, is, in the *main*, a continuance of the history of the Scythæ of the fourth century B.C. One of the populations of Herodotus, a population reasonably considered Scythian, is the *Agathyrsi.* Their locality was in Transylvania. In the time of Attila they appear as *Acazziri.* Now, if the Acazziri were Huns, and the Agathyrsi were Scythians,

and if each occupied the same locality at times so distant as the ages of Herodotus and Attila, *some* member of the Hun name, at least, was *in situ* in Transylvania six centuries before Attila's time, and *some* Scythians coincided with *some* Huns.

Why may not even the Huns of Attila be what the Acazziri were, or, at least, closely allied to them? No evidence brings them from any point east of the Aluta. All that evidence does, is to say that certain Huns fought against certain Alani on the Maeotis; that certain Huns ejected certain Thervings from Bessarabia; that certain Huns occupied the country between the Aluta and Theiss. All beyond is *inference;* and the inference of the present writer is, that the Huns of Attila were no new comers in Hungary. Where was Attila's court or camp? Not in Roman Dacia, nor yet in Roman Pannonia: but just in that part between the two that was never Romanized; a likely spot for the remains of such independence as the Scythian portion of Dacia might preserve, but not a likely spot for a new invader from the Don or Volga. Was part, then, of Dacia Scythian or Turk? Certainly. No man can say how much. The subjects even of Decebalus may have been Scythian or Turk, descendants of the Agathyrsi, ancestors of the Acazziri, close kinsmen of the Huns of Attila. Such is the inference. If soldiers, why not captains? why not Decebalus himself? There are those who may think that the notion of Decebalus being a Turk supplies a *reductio ad absurdum.* Yet it is only our preconceived notions that are shocked. No facts are against it. Why should not the Agathyrsic part of Dacia have supplied a leader as well as any other? De-

cebalus is a word strange to Gothic, strange to Slavonic, *not strange to Turk history.* When the proper and specific Turks first appear, in the field of history, as they do in the reign of Justinian, the name of the first Turk khan is that of the last Dacian king, *Dizabulus.*

If our reasons against disconnecting the Scythians, the Alani, and the Huns hold good, they are equally valid against separating the Avars, the Khazars, the Petshenegs (to which add the Uz), and the Cumanians.

That after the death of Attila, the political power of his descendants was broken, is certain. The son of Attila was not the king of the *Huns;* for *Hun* seems to have been a collective name, and, perhaps, it was not a native one. But he was king of several of those populations in detail, out of which, along with others, the Hun power was made.

Before this power was extinguished—probably before it was notably diminished—the closely allied Avars (Huns, under another name) had conquered Pannonia. They held it from the end of the sixth to that of the eighth century.

It was under the Avars that the Turk power took its maximum extension westwards.

The great name in the east—in the parts between the Volga and the Danube—was that of the Khazars; who are unequivocally mentioned under that designation as early as A.D. 626, though not by a contemporary historian. The evidence, however, of their power is sufficient. The emperor, Leo IV., son of Constantine Copronymus, was the son of Irene, daughter of the Khan of the Khazars. He reigned from A.D. 775, to A.D. 780.

Much in the same way as the name Hun is succeeded by that of Avar, the name Khazar is succeeded by that of *Patzinaks* or *Petshinegs*. The *Kanzar* are a section of the *Petshinegues*. Time from A.D. 900 (there or thereabouts), to A.D. 1050. Place—the parts between the Lower Danube and the Lower Don—Bessarabia, Cherson, and part of Taurida. Like the Khazars, they attack Russia; pressing northwards and westwards.

The *Uzi* replace—or appear to replace—the Petshenegs; their time being the eleventh century.

Lastly, come the Cumani, scarcely distinguishable from the Uzi. They occupied Volhynia—afterwards, a part of Hungary. The last individual who spoke a language allied to that of the Huns—a language of Asiatic origin—the last of the Cumanians—Varro, an old man of Karczag—died A.D. 1770.

From the death of Varro to the times anterior to Herodotus, or (changing the epoch) from the times anterior to Herodotus to A.D. 1770, there was always a Turk population on the Lower Danube, and in the parts between the Lower Danube and the Volga. How far they extended northwards and inland is uncertain. It is only certain that Volhynia was at one time part of their area: so were parts of Hungary—Volhynia, however, more especially. *Volhynia* is neither more nor less than the Low German word *Velue*, meaning a *champagne country*—Volhynia being the Turkish or Russian Champagne. The different forms it takes are *Falawa, Falon, Valui, Valewe, Valven, Waluwen, Valans, Valanie*

—"c'etoit là" (writes Rubruquis) "que vivoient les Comans et qu'ils tenoient leur troupeaux; il s'appellent *Capchat*, et selon les Allemands *Valans*, et leur pais *Valanie*." What the Germans (probably of Transylvania) called *Valans*, the Slavonians called *Polovci;* a word of the same meaning; a word, too, that should be noted, inasmuch as it is from the same root as our name *Polack* (a *Pole*). *Pole* is no specific appellation of any definite population at all; but only a name like *Highlander* or *Lowlander*. Here it applies to a division of the Turk stock; an application which will be alluded to in the sequel, as a proof that a nation might be called *Polish* without being so in the ordinary acceptation.

The *Volhynians* of the 11th century were the same as the *Polovci*, who were *Cumanians*, who were *Kiptshak Tartars*, who were *Turks*. But the list of synonyms does not cease here; they were, occasionally, called *Parthians*—"fuerunt Tartari in terra Valuorum paganorum, qui *Parthi* a quibusdam dicuntur." Also, "invaserunt *Parthos*, quibus Rutheni auxilium ferebant; commiseruntque cum Thataris prælium, et victi sunt. Conciderunt itaque de Ruthenis et *Parthis* ad centum millia hominum."

This name is as important as curious. Did the old chroniclers know about the *fugaces Parthi* of the classical writers? Did they tax their memories and talk in the metaphors when they had savage Turks to speak about? No. There was a population (I will not say exactly in Volhynia, but not far from the frontier of those Slavonians who knew the Cumanians) *indigenous to the Sar-*

*matian soil*, whose name in the Latin of the Chronicles comes out as *Barthi*, or *Barthenses*, and whose country was the *Bartha* (or *Plica Bartha*) "quæ nunc major et minor Bartha appellatur."

Leaving, however, the consideration of the names borne by these Cumanians, let us notice their truly Turk habit of eating horseflesh, and drinking mare's milk, points which all the chroniclers who mention them indicate with horror. Let us note, too, that their alliances are with the Petshenegs. These it was whose name takes as many *aliases* asth at of the Cumanians; the Greeks calling them *Patzinakitæ*, the Slavonians *Peczenyezi*, the Hungarians *Bisseni* and *Bessi;* out of which last form we get the name of the great Petsheneg locality—*Bess*-arabia. Even in the Icelandic Heimskringla we find a notice of the *country of the Petshenegs near Wallachia*—"*Pezina*-völlr vid *Blöcko*-mannaland." The *Uz* (Οὐζοι) were Turks also; Turks in the neighbourhood of the Petshenegs and Cumanians; "nobler, however, than the Petshenegs."

The last metamorphosis that this word Petsheneg undergoes is into the present name *Budzhak* or *Budziak*. This, however, by no means makes the present Budziak Tartars of Bessarabia descendants of the Petshenegs. They *may* only be occupants of what was once the Petsheneg country. If, however, they be truly what their name suggests, Varro was not the last of what may be called the Trans-Danubian Turks. On the contrary, they still exist.

The Petsheneg and Cumanian Turks are pre-eminently the *Russian* branches of that stock; and next to those the Khazars; earlier still, the Alans—the Alans in the part

between the Don, the Volga, and the Caucasian range —the Khazars on the Volga—the Cumanians and Petshenegs on the drainage of the Dneister, or the parts between the Dnieper and Danube. The Huns and Avars were Transylvanian and Hungarian, rather than Russian. They were, however, equally Turk. The Bulgarians will be noticed in a separate chapter.

There was a difference, then, in respect to the local distribution of these names. There was, also, a difference in time. The Alans, under that name, soon recede from the foreground of history. They are hard to find after the sixth century. The Huns, as the representatives of the supposed power and barbarism of Attila, recede also —but the name continually reappears as the synonym of *Avar* during the whole of the later Avar history. Indeed, with the German chroniclers, *Hun* means *Avar*, and *Avars* are called *Huns*.

In all this I see only an irregular distribution, both in time and place, of the historical importance of certain members of the original Scythian migration, complicated by changes of name in respect to some of the leading populations. The extinction of one population, and the introduction of another, I do *not* see. Whenever this has been assumed (and I have examined the evidence) it has been found wanting. The real fact has generally been that a different branch of the stock has developed itself at some fresh point of its area; or that the same has become known to us through a different line of authorities, and, consequently, under a different name. To uncritical writers all this looked like so many obliterations of an older population, and so many fresh immigrati[illegible]

of a younger one—to match and make good; and that such was actually the case, in a moderate degree, I by no means deny. As a rule, however, these migrations and replacements were inferential and hypothetic, rather than historic. That all the Turks of Europe—Scythian, Alan, Hun, Avar, Chazar, Uz, Petsheneg, and Cumanian—came from Asia, was known. It was also known that the same names were largely found in the two continents. The use that this knowledge would be put to, in the absence of real information, is clear. It would supply some speculation in lieu of it. And of real knowledge there *was* an absence. What knew the Greeks of such parts of the Herodotean Scythia as lay in the direction of Podolia, Volhynia, and Northern Transylvania? What knew the Romans of the Dacia and Sarmatia of the Greek period? What do the Byzantines tell us of the same Dacia when it becomes Wallachia? I have no hesitation in saying, that the evidence of the Huns of Attila having come into Europe is as unsatisfactory as that of the Skoloti of Herodotus having ever got out of it. No good evidence brings the former from any point east of the Aluta. All that evidence does, is to say that certain Huns fought against certain Alans on the Mæotis; that certain Huns ejected certain Thervings from Bessarabia; that certain Huns occupied the country between the Aluta and Theiss. All beyond is *inference;* and the inference of the present writer is, that the Huns of Attila were no new-comers in Hungary. Where was Attila's court or camp? Not in Roman Dacia, nor yet in Roman Pannonia; but just in that part between the two tha was never Romanized, a likely spot for the remains of

such independence as the Scythian portion of Dacia might preserve, but not a likely spot for a new invader from the Don or Volga.

Upon the whole I hold, that, allowing for certain minor details on the frontier of Europe and Asia, the history of the Scythians, Huns, Avars, Petshenegs, and Cumanians, is *one;* and that it is the history of a population, not indeed indigenous to Europe, but European from the time of Herodotus downwards. With this suggestion I close the notice of the Trans-Danubian Turks; and go back to the times that come after its commencement.

There was the *Greek* period, which was of more importance in the history of civilization than in ethnology. However, it gave us the colonies of the Black Sea; not always direct from Greece, but rather from Asia Minor.

There was the *Roman* period, which began with the reduction of Pannonia, and ended with that of Dacia.

There was the *German* period; important, but obscure. I imagine that, some time subsequent to the conquest of Pannonia, certain Germans from Thuringia found their way down the Danube, settled, either independent of any foreign persuasion or as Roman mercenaries, on certain Pannonian and Dacian frontiers, and stayed there until they were ejected by the Huns. The Thervings and Grutungs, whom we have seen in the valley of the Dneister, were in this predicament; probably, the Marcomanni of Moravia also. As these Trans-Danubian Germans passed the river and appeared in the country of the *Getæ*, they got called Goths. Until then, they were as little *Gothic* as Egbert and Alfred were *British*. I have stated this before; I state it again. I draw all the attention I can

command to the doctrine. Nine-tenths of the points whereon I disagree with the current doctrine, turn upon it. On the other hand, an equal amount of the ordinary teaching must fall when the assumption that any German tribes ever called itself *Goth-*, *Get-*, *Gott-*, *Gut-*, or by any similar name, is shewn to be groundless.

The two great displacements were the Turk and the Roman. The latter displaced the original Slavonic (not unmixed with Turkish) of Transylvania and the Danubian Principalities, and, by doing this, separated the Russian, Ruthenian, or Rusniak Slavonians of the Carpathians from the Servians of Servia.

From the Upper Dneister, Lodomiria, Bukhovinia, and the north of Bessarabia, the Slavonian line of encroachment moves northwards and eastwards, the area upon which it encroaches being Turk, with fragments (perhaps) of the original population interspersed. This was either Ugrian or Lithuanian—perhaps both. By A.D. 800, the Dnieper is Slavonic (this is the better term *here*), and Kiev is a Slavonic town—*Slavonic* in the way that the parts north of the Carpathians were Slavonic.

By A.D. 800, too, the parts about the Ilmen-Lake, or the valley of the Volok, were *Russian* (this is the better term *here*); Novogorod being, for these parts, what Kiev was for the banks of the Dnieper.

Novogorod was Russian, and Kiev Slavonic. Were they both in the same category—*i. e.*, both Russian, or both Slavonic, the difference between the two being merely nominal? It was not nominal, but real. The Russians of Novogorod were not Slavonians, but Scandinavians, probably from Sweden. A remarkable passage

in Constantinus Porphyrogenita, not only distinguishes the *Rus* tongue from the *Slavonic*, but gives the names of the *different falls of the Dnieper in both languages.* The *Rus* forms are *Norse;* being compounds of the Norse word *fors*—*force* in provincial English—*waterfall.*

Εἰς τὸν πέμπτον φραγμὸν τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Βαρουφόρος, Σκλαβινιστὶ δὲ, Βουλνηπράχ· *(Constant. de Adm. Imp.*, c. ix.)

Again,

Εἰς τὸν ἕτερον φραγμὸν τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Οὐλβορσὶ, Σκλαβινιστὶ δὲ, Οστροβουνίπραχ. *(Ibid.)*

Translated—"At the fifth fall, the one called in Russ *Varuforos*, but in Slavonic *Vulneprakh.*"

"To the second fall, the one called in Rus, *Ulvorsi*—but in Slavonic, *Ostrovuniprakh.*"

If this Russ be (as it is) Scandinavian, and the two languages meet on the Dnieper, the movement by which the original character of Russia was changed into its present was complex; *i. e.*, there was the movement from north to south, of which Novogorod represents the civilization, in which the Scandinavians were the agents, and for which the area was Ugrian rather than Turk; and there was the movement from south to north, of which Kiev represents the civilization, in which the Slavonians were the agents, and for which the area was Turk rather than Ugrian; Turk, indeed, which was originally either Ugrian or Lithuanic, but still, for the epoch under notice, Turk.

The movement from the south preponderates; and when the powers represented by Kiev and Novogorod, coalesce and consolidate, it is the Scandinavian element which disappears.

By A.D. 1000—say, for convenience, during the reign of Canute—the power that afterwards grew into that of the Muscovite empire had its area in Kiev and Novogorod, in the adjacent districts, and in the intermediate ones.

Its Slavonic and Scandinavian elements had, more or less, become fused; the Slavonic preponderating. The Greek civilization and the Greek Christianity of Constantinople had told on it. Active kings had arisen, and a career of conquest had been begun. The civil history now commences.

For the present we pause upon, and conclude with, the investigation of the name *Rus*. Originally, it was anything but Slavonic; it was rather Scandinavian. Does it appear elsewhere? If so, when, and in what form? It appears as early as the first century of our æra, and in a Ugrian form. Strabo uses it; and his form is *Rhoxolani*. This has long been known. It has also long been known that *-lainen* is the regular Finlandish termination for gentile nouns; so that, as Strabo mentions the *Rhoxolani*, there must have been, in his time, not only Ugrians in Russia, but Ugrians so near the sea, or the parts within the area of the Greek intercourse, as for words of their tongue to reach his informants.

Tacitus mentions them also.

What follows from this? One of two things.

The root *Ruots-* may be as Ugrian as the termination *-alan-*, or it may not be Ugrian at all. With the first of these alternatives, our doctrine is, that modern *Russia* has taken its name, not—

*a.* From any dominant Norse conquerors, called *Rus-*; but—

*b.* From a portion of its area called *Ruotsi*, originally occupied by Ugrian *Ruotsolane*, but afterwards by Norsemen, to whom the neighbouring nations extended the name of the territory.

In this case, the Northmen of *Ruotsi* are called *Rus*, even as an Angle of *Britannia* might be called *Britannus*.

With the second, our hypothesis takes the following form; viz.,

That certain Scandinavian invaders named *Rus* had found their way into certain parts south of the Baltic as early as the time of Strabo, and that their name had become known to the Greeks only after it had passed through certain Ugrian districts between the Upper Dnieper and the Black Sea; during which passage it took the Ugrian form in *-lan- (lane-* or *-lainen)*.

The fact of the present Finns calling the Swedes of Sweden *Ruotsi*, favours this latter view. The question, however, is full of complications, and a third view is admissible. What if the original *Ruotsi (Russ*, or *Rhoks-)* were neither Scandinavians nor Ugrians, but members of the Lithuanic family, the Goths of Sweden (as will be suggested in the next chapter) being Lithuanic also? In such a case, the hypothesis that would reconcile most facts would be to the effect that the Fins called the Lithuanians *Ruots*, and that they extended the name, originally given to the *Goths*, of the Scandinavian Peninsula, to the *Germans* thereof also.

The populations which spoke the Russian glosses of Constantine Porphyrogenita were German, rather than Slavonian, and they belonged to the Scandinavian,

rather than to the Teutonic (or proper German) branch of the German stock. Their line of movement was from north to south. Their presence in the parts south of the Gulf of Finland implies a previous voyage by sea. Let us remember, however, that they are not the first, but the second, group of Germans, that we have found in Russia. Let us remember the Grutungs and Thervings of the valley of the Dneister whom the Huns ejected in the reign of Valens. These were Teutons (or Germans Proper), rather than Scandinavians. *Their* direction was from south to north, and their presence on the Dneister is best accounted for by the supposition of a passage down the Danube—a fluviatile rather than a maritime migration. At any rate, there are two lines to the German encroachments in Sarmatia; each in different directions. Did they meet? Yes—at least, according to the common accounts. They met—*i. e.*, the Germans of the south reached the same point that was reached by the Scandinavians of the north; this being the country of the Rhoxolani. Whether they did so at the same time is another question. The great hero of the Northern, or Scandinavian, Germans, was Ruric. The great hero of the Southern Germans—the Grutungs and Thervings—the Ostrogoths and Visagoths, as they are incorrectly called—was Hermanric. The suppression or consolidation of the minor divisions and sub-divisions of the Grutung and Therving names increased the military power of Hermanric, and "enlarged his ambitious designs." He invaded the adjacent countries of the north, and twelve considerable nations, whose names and limits cannot be accurately defined, successively yielded to the superiority

of the Gothic arms. The Heruli, who inhabited the marshy lands near the late Mœotis, were renowned for their strength and agility; and the assistance of their light infantry was eagerly solicited, and highly esteemed, in all the wars of the Barbarians. But the active spirit of the Heruli, was subdued by the slow and steady perseverance of the Goths; and, after a bloody action, in which the king was slain, the remains of that warlike tribe became a useful accession to the camp of Hermanric. He then marched against the Venedi; unskilled in the use of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland. The victorious Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in contest, by the decisive advantages of exercise and discipline. After the submission of the Venedi, the conqueror advanced, without resistance, as far as the confines of the Æstii, an ancient people, whose name is still preserved in the province of Esthonia. Those distant inhabitants of the Baltic coast were supported by the labours of agriculture, enriched by the trade of amber, and consecrated by the peculiar worship of the mother of the gods. But the scarcity of iron obliged the Æstian warriors to content themselves with wooden clubs; and the reduction of that wealthy country is ascribed to the prudence, rather than to the arms, of Hermanric. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the native seats, and the recent acquisitions, of the Goths; and he reigned over the greatest part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and sometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over a part of the globe

incapable of perpetuating and adorning the glory of its heroes. The name of Hermanric is almost buried in oblivion; his exploits are imperfectly known; and the Romans themselves appeared unconscious of the progress of an aspiring power, which threatened the liberty of the north and the peace of the empire."

Such is the language of Gibbon; based chiefly upon the statements of Jornandes, a very indifferent authority. I give it, however, because the name of Hermanric, like that of Ruric is famous—famous, and, to a great extent, fabulous.

I give it, too, because when we get to the death of Hermanric we find it connected with the history of the *Rhoxolani;* one of the chiefs of which nation had "formerly deserted the standard of Hermanric, and the cruel tyrant had condemned the innocent wife of the traitor to be torn asunder by wild horses. The brothers of that unfortunate woman seized the favourable moment of revenge. The aged king of the Goths languished some time after the dangerous wound which he received from their daggers; but the conduct of the war was retarded by his infirmities; and the public councils of the nation were distracted by a spirit of jealousy and discord." (Gibbon, c. xxvi.)

Such is the proof that the Germans of the south, either touched, or were supposed to touch, *Rhoxolania, Russia,* or *Rus-land.*

This is much to say about a name; but, considering that, whether Ugrian or Scandinavian in its origin, the word *Rus* is now not only Slavonic, but the national denomination of the most powerful branch of the Slavonians, the

extent to which it is enlarged on is justifiable. In the time of Constantine Porphyrogenita it is Scandinavian—whatever it may have been in that of Strabo.

At present it is Slavonic, so far as it is used by the Russians themselves; Ugrian, so far as it is applied by the Finlanders to the Swedes; and Swedish, so far as the Swedes have it applied to Sweden.

## CHAPTER XVI.

THE LITHUANIAN BRANCH OF THE SARMATIAN STOCK—THE PRUSSIANS—THE JACZWINGS—THE LITHUANIANS—THE LETS—THE GOTHINI—THE INDIAN AND SCANDINAVIAN CONQUESTS.

THE first members of the Lithuanian branch of the Sarmatian stock that come under our notice are the *Old Prussians*, though they no longer exist in a separate and independent form, with their originally separate and independent language. This they lost in the sixteenth century; but until that time it was spoken in East Prussia. More than this, it was partially written; inasmuch as the Lord's Prayer and a catechism in it have come down to us. Their equally characteristic paganism died away earlier still; *i. e.*, in the thirteenth century.

If we separate East and West Prussia from Pomerania on the west and Posen and Poland on the south, we have the area of the Prussian portion of the Lithuanic Sarmatians. Whether, in the very earliest period of their history, their original site touched the waves of the Baltic is uncertain; inasmuch as it has been stated that a few unimportant details might be easiest explained by carry-

ing the Ugrian populations of Esthonia and Livonia as far westwards as the Trave—chiefly, however, along the sea-coast. This, however, is a refinement. For ordinary ethnology it may be held as a safe doctrine, that the coast of the *Amber* country in East Prussia was Prussian at the beginning of the historical period, and that West Prussia was in the same category. And this epoch—this beginning of the historical period—is an early one. In the third century B. C., Pytheas of Marseilles heard of the *Ostiaioi* (Æstyans) of the *Amber* country. These were the ancestors of the Old Prussians under the name by which they were designated by the Germans of the Lower Elbe—*i. e.*, a name still meaning *men of the east* —say, *Easterlings*. *Easterlings*, too, they are in the pages of Tacitus, who calls them *Æstyii;* only, however, when he follows the line of the Baltic and uses German names. When he arrives at the same population from the south and by an overland line from the Middle Danube, they are no *Æstii*, but *Gothones*. Here the name is Slavonic.

The Gothones are Æstii under a German, the Æstii Gothones under a Slavonic name. The fact that both are found on the Amber country suggests this, and dozens of minor facts, in the way of cumulative evidence, confirm it. Their manners are like those of the Suevi—a somewhat indefinite term. They worshipped the *Mother of the Gods* (*Prowa*, I imagine), and carry as a mark of their superstition the figures of boars. Clubs were common, instruments of iron rare. Tillage commanded more of their industry than was usual with the Germans. Amber, however, was what they chiefly traded

in. Their language was like the British—the text of Tacitus, being "*linguæ Britannicæ proprior.*" The German who told his informant (in perhaps the fiftieth degree) this, must have said that the speech of the Easterlings (or Este) was *Pryttisc—i. e.*, Prussian.

A curious letter of Theodoric the Ostrogoth to these men of the Amber country, has come down to us; important, because it shews that the name *Easterling* was still applied to them, even though the letter came from the south. It came, however, from a German. He calls them *Hœsti*, and, by enlarging upon their characteristic product, the Amber, makes the assurance that it is the Prussians, rather the ancestors of the present Esthonians, whom he addresses, doubly sure. Jornandes mentions them by the same name, But he also places in close contact with them the Vid-*ivarii*. In German this would be Vit-*wœre*, and the country of the Vit-*wœre* would be Vit-land. Now, *Vit*-land was Prussia. We find the name in Alfred, who distinguishes between *Vit*-land and *Veonod*-land (Terra *Vitarum* and Terra *Venidorum*), adding that Vit-land belonged to *Este;* out of which he gives the compound *East*-land. Now *Vit*-land and *East*-land were Prussian and Lithuanic, as opposed to Veonod-land, which was Slavonic. This is sufficient to shew that the difference between the Lithuanian and the Slavonic Sarmatians was felt by the ancients. If we clear our mind of the preconceptions that arise out of the root *Goth-*, and the German associations which go along with it, and, if, in addition to this, we adopt the suggested explanation of Tacitus's statement as to the British language being spoken by the

Amber-gatherers, we shall find that the ethnology of few countries is more definite than that of ancient Prussia. Alfred mentions its town *Truso,* the *Drusne,* and the *Drausen*-see of later times. There were also (he adds) many other towns in it—each with its king.

Nestor gives us the name *Prus ;* and, except so far as it appears in the indirect and conjectural form of Tacitus, he is one of the first writers who does so—"The Lekhs" (Slavonian Poles), "the Pruss" (Lithuanian), "and the Tshuds" (Ugrians), "lie on the Varangian" (Baltic) "Sea." Some of the early German notices may be as old as this of Nestor's.

The reduction of Lithuanian and Pagan Prussia was undertaken by the Knights of the Teutonic Order in the twelfth century; when German influences set in from the west. At the same time the sword of the Poles was cutting its way northwards; so that the line of encroachment was double. Another fact made it as much Slavonic as German, which was this:—As the Germans moved eastwards from the Elbe, they effected alliances with the Slavonians of Mecklenburg and Pomerania—alliances of more or less importance and durability. At any rate, the line of displacement that pressed upon the Old Prussians was Slavono-German, or Germano-Slavonic. The nomenclature of our authors now suffers a change. The term *East* is (as it were) thrown forwards, and becomes applied to the Esthonians of the Gulf of Finland. The name *Goth-* becomes obsolete; that of *Vit-* appears chiefly in compounds. Prussia is the generic name; to which a whole host of specific ones is subordinated.

The Prussians, whose paganism inflamed the zeal of the

Teutonic Knights, were, if we take them in detail, (1) The *Galind-itæ*, or the *Γαλίνδαι (Galindæ)* of Ptolemy; (2) The *Sudo-vitæ*, conterminous with the *Galinditæ*, both being in the neighbourhood of the Spirding-See; (3) The *Pomesani*, on the right bank of the Lower Vistula; (4) *Pogesani*, on the *Frische Haf;* (5) *Warmienses, Jarmenses, Hermini*, and the people of the *Orma-land* of the Old Norse Sagas, between the *Pogesani* and the—(6) *Nattangi;* (7) the *Barthi* (a name already noticed), and (8) the *Nadrovitæ*, for whom a case can be made out in favour of their being the Naharval, of Tacitus; (9) The *Sam*-bitæi and (10) the *Scalo*-vitæ. It is this preponderance of forms in *-vit-*, that accounts for the name *Vit*-land. Yet *Vit*-land, if trust can be put in the analogies that direct the philologist, is neither more nor less than *Goth*-land. The Slavonic *Hospodar* and *Gospodar* become, in Lithuanic, *Vis-pat*-s; *i. e., Lord* or *Master.*

The only populations who held to their paganism more tenaciously than the Old Prussians were the Old Lithuanians, and the only Christian conquerors who rivalled the atrocity of the Teutonic Knights were the Albigensian Crusaders. There is probably some over-statement in the numbers both of the opposing forces, and of the killed and captive. Such numbers as 300,000 slaughtered or sold are, it is to be hoped, exaggerated. So is such an assertion as that every one of the eleven divisions of the Prussian name could bring into the field 2,000 horsemen, and many thousand foot. Nevertheless, there was an obstinate resistance and a cruel conquest. In the district of the Nadrovitæ lay the chief seat of the Prus-

sian superstitions. There was a holy place called *Romov*, and a holy man named *Criwe*. This (as we may suppose) suggested a comparison with the Pope of Rome, and struck the imagination of the early German chroniclers much as the stories about Prester John did the medieval writers on the east. This "Criwe," writes Dusburg, "was respected as a Pope; because, even as our Lord, the Pope, rules the Universal Church of the faithful, in like manner did the nations of Lithuania, and Livonia, as well as those of Prussia, obey his nod." If we turn to Tacitus and see what he says about the Naharvai, we shall find that *theirs* was the pre-eminent religious locality of the group to which they belonged; a group comprising the Arii, the Helveconæ (the Ἀιλουάιωνες of Ptolemy), the Manimi, and the Elysii. In the Naharval country was a "grove hallowed by an ancient religion. In the Naharval country did a priest in the garb of a woman preside." In the Naharval country were two deities, who, "after the Roman interpretation, were Castor and *Pollux*. This was the import of the divinity. No images; no trace of any foreign superstition. They worship them as brothers, as youths." This is too elliptic to be very explanatory. At the same time it takes light from one or more curious notices of the later writers. Thus, Adam of Bremen says that the priests in Courland were dressed like monks—*i. e.*, after the fashion nearest that of females. Then the Slavonic mythology has two associated gods, Lel and *Polel*. The possible explanation of the word *Alcis* is more remarkable still; unfortunately, however, it does not rest on an unexceptionable authority. Erasmus Stella writes that

the ancient Prussians worshipped amongst beasts the *Elk (Alcis)*.

The precision with which we can separate the Ancient Prussians from the other Lithuanians is increased by more statements than one. The divisions of their area, writes Dusburg, were twelve. Of these he gives the names; out of which ten agree with those already enumerated; viz., Pomesania, Pogesania, Warmia, Nattangia, Sambia, Nadrovia, Scalovia, Sudovia, Galindia, Bartha. Again—when the earlier speculators as to the origin of the Prussian nation exert their ingenuity, and go (after the fashion of all such early speculators) upon the doctrine that each division represents the family of some hero or eponymos, we find the story to run in this manner: There were two brothers—*Brut* and *Wud*-awut; Brut the king, and Wudawut the priest. Wudawut had twelve (eleven?) sons; viz., Litpho, Saimo, Sudo, Naidro, Scalawo, Bartho, Galindo, Warmo, Hoggo, Pomeso, and Chelmo. Here Sudo, Naidro, Scalawo, &c., are the epo-nymi to the Sudovitæ, Madrovitæ, Scalovitæ, &c.

One more remark, which is this; that traces of the name *Gut*tones (*Gythones*, *Goth*ones, &c.), which we have found applied to the *Æstyi* or Prussians of the Amber coast, are to be found as late as the end of the 17th century.

Prætorius, a Pole, writing A.D. 1688, in his "Orbis Gothicus," devotes two sections to the following questions:—

1. Are there any remains of the Gothic name in European Sarmatia?

2. Whence is the contempt of the name *Gudd*, at the present time, in Prussia?

From these we learn that the Samogitians, Russians, Lithuanians, Prussians, Zalavonians, Nadravians, Natangians, Sudovians, Mazovians, and the inhabitants of Ducal Prussia, were called GUDDONS by the people about Koningsberg, and that this name was a *name of contempt*, accounted for by the extent to which the populations to which it applied had retained their paganism against the efforts of the propagators of the Prussian Christianity. "Guddarum infidelium nomen existit, adeo ut *Gothus* sive *Guddus* idem iis qui paganus et ethnicus, hostisque Christianitatis audierit."*

That it was also Slavonic is shewn by a line from an old Tshekh (Bohemian) poem.

> *Gotskyja* krasnyja diewy na brezje sinemu morju.
> *Gott-ish* fair maidens on bank of (the) blue sea.

From the Ancient Prussians let us turn to a much more obscure population, though famous in its day; *i. e.*, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. I have met with few names in history so seldom as that of the Jaczwings. Pronounce this *Yatsh*-ving, and note the various forms under which it occurs. The letters *cz* represent the Sarmatian combination *tsh*, difficult to represent in Latin, and not easy in either German or Greek. The J is the English *y*. The *-ing* is, *perhaps*, German—at any rate, it is not radical, as will be seen. In the Polish Chronicles the forms end thus: Jazw-*ingi*, Jaczw-*ingi*, Jacu-*ingi*. The native Slavonic form (in the Russian

* Lib. i., cap. i.

Chronicles and the Igor-lied) is Jat-*wyazi*, or Jat-*wyezi*; in the Papal documents, Jentu*isiones*, Jentu*osi*, Jac*intiones*. In two instances, however, we have forms as like to Getæ, Gothin-*i*, and Gothon-*es*, as Get-*wezitæ* and Get-*uinzitæ*.

The *Yatsh*-vings lay to the south of the East Prussians, and to the east of the Poles, in the present province of Sierdec, and in the Podlachia of the older maps. They are said also to have extended as far as the marshes about Pinsk—at the headwaters of the Pripecz. At the beginning of the thirteenth century they were formidable to both Russia and Poland. It was Poland, however, that more especially coerced them. This population, "vast and warlike, greedy of honour, allied in language, rites, religion, and customs to the Lithuanians, the Samogitians, and the Prussians, dedicated too, like them, to the worship of idols, a population of which Drohyczyn was the metropolis, was so broken in a great battle against the Poles under their Duke, Boleslav, in the year of our Lord 1282, as to become well-nigh extinct, a few only remaining, some of which were attached to Poland, some to Lithuania. They never retreated, and never refused a battle, however unequal." This is the language of the chroniclers in speaking of the now unknown *Yatsh*-vings. The Poles were their chief conquerors—the Poles, in their movements from west to east, a movement which will be noticed in the sequel. At present, I remark that the *Yatsh*-wing occupation of Podlachia, Sierdec, &c., throws the easternmost frontier of the Poles much further westwards than is generally imagined. It also brings the Lithuanian area farther southwards.

The radical parts of the forms *Jat*-wyazi (pronounced

*Yat-*), and *Getuin-*zitæ, have been quoted with a purpose; *i. e.*, because they suggest the names *Gothones* and *Get-æ*. The former we have seen applied to the Prussians, both ancient and modern. Who applied it? The Prussians themselves? I think not. There is no proof of its being native. The real applicants were the Slavonians of their neighbourhood.

Who used the term *Yatsh-*ving, with its modifications? The *Yatsh-*vings themselves? There is no proof of this. The only populations who can be shewn to have used it were the Slavonians of their frontier.

Is the identification of it with the word *Getæ* a mere fancy of mine? Far from it. So early an authority as Kadlubek writes, "Sunt autem Pollexiani; *Getarum seu Prussorum* genus, gens atrocissima," &c.

How far did the Yatsh-ving area originally extend? This is unknown. Were they the most southern of the Lithuanians? I think not. What was the early ethnology of Volhynia? The history of Volhynia begins late. It cannot be shewn, then, that the language was originally Lithuanic. But it *can* be shewn that the earliest language known to have been spoken in Volhynia was an intrusive and recent one—viz., the Cumanian *Turk.*

Now, south of Volhynia, this root *Got-*, *Get*, *Gut*, *Yatsh*, &c., reappears; the author in whom we find it being Tacitus. The *Gothini* of Tacitus along with the Osi and some others, lie at the back of the Marcomanni and Quadi. This means north of Moravia and Hungary. Their language separates them from the Germans. That of the Osi is the Pannonian; that of the Gothini, the *Gallic*—"Gothinos *Gallica*, Osos Pannonica lingua arguit

non esse Germanos." (*Germania*, 43.) He continues, "They pay tribute (partly to the Quadi, partly to the Sarmatians), as men of a different stock (*alienigenæ*). The Gothini work in iron mines. The smaller part occupy the level; the greater, the hilly and wooded districts.

This fixes the Gothini in some part of the Carpathians —the *Gallician* portion. For I argue here, as I did in the case of the Prussian *(Pryttisc* or *Prytskaya)* language when it was called British *(Bryttisc* or *Britskaya)*. Having no reason for believing that the name *Halitsch* (the Slavonic form of *Gallicia*) is one whit less ancient than the names *Gallia, Britannia, Italia, Hellas*, &c., I translate *Gallica* by *Gallician;* considering that the same similarity, with the same likelihood of creating error, between words as like as the form out of which *Gallicia* grew, and that out of which the Romans formed *Galli* and the Greeks Γαλάται, existed in the time of Tacitus as now.

Who used the name *Gothini?* The Gothini themselves? There is no proof of this. The population through which it reached the Roman was most probably *Sarmatian*, the population that lay between the Gothinian and the Roman frontier—the population that imposed the tribute and made the Gothini work for them in the mines of Gallicia.

The Prussian, the Yatsh-ving, and the Gothinian divisions of the Lithuanic branch have no longer a separate existence, characterized by the criterion of language or nationality. They cannot, indeed, be considered as extinct; inasmuch as much of their blood must be

mixed up with that of certain Prussians, Poles, and Gallicians.

The tribes we next come to are Lithuanic in language as well as in blood. They fall into two divisions—the *Lithuanian* and the *Lett*.

1. The distribution of the Lithuanians is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| In Kovno | 568,794 |
| Vilna | 138,320 |
| Courland | 7,434 |
| Grodno | 2,338 |
| | 716,886 |

2. The Lett population, on the other hand, runs thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| In Courland | 401,939 |
| Livonia | 318,872 |
| Vitepsk | 142,497 |
| Kovno | 6,341 |
| St. Petersburg | 2,000 |
| Pskov | 458 |
| | 872,107 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Total of Lithuanians | 716,886 |
| —— Letts | 872,107 |
| | 1,588,993 |

To these add some members of the same stock in East Prussia; who are, however, to be looked upon as Letts

or Lithuanians lying beyond, to the western boundary of Russia, rather than as descendants of the true old Prussians.

It should also be added that there is a great deal of Lithuanic and Let blood beyond the area of the Lithuanian and Let languages. Grodno, for instance, is essentially a Lithuanic district—as are parts of Minsk. I cannot find that any form of the name *Goth-*, &c., has ever been applied to any of these more eastern Lithuanians. It is only with those who can reasonably be considered as having been in contact with some part of the Slavonic area that we notice it.

The distinction between the Lets and Lithuanians lies in the character of their political history, rather than in any material difference in their ethnology. The physical appearance and the original Pagan creed are much the same with each. The difference of language is notable —but still of no very great importance. The political development gives the characteristics.

The *Lets—i. e.*, the Courlanders and Livonians—lay in the same line as the Old Prussians, and it was the stream of invasion from Germany that was forced upon them. It was an *Order*, too, by which they were converted to Christianity—the Order of the Knights of the Sword. This nomenclature assists our memory—since it points to the Crusades shewing the extent to which, whilst the rest of Europe was Christian, Prussia and Let-land were Pagan.

It was a German Order that reduced Let-land; and hence the difference between Courland and Livonia on the one side, and East and West Prussia on the other, is only

a matter of degree. Both are German, so far as they are other than Lithuanic—Prussia to the extent of nine points in ten, Let-land to (say) three in nine, or some such smaller proportion. The towns of *Let*-land (Courland and South Livonia or *Lief*-land) are German ; *e. g.*, Revel, Riga, and Mittau. The Lords of the soil are German. The serfs, and this is a land of serfage, are Let.

There is a second point that distinguishes Let-land. The creed is Protestant.

There is a third. Livonia was, at one time, a part of the Swedish dominions; so that certain Swede elements help to differentiate the two branches under comparison.

The *Let* history is German rather than Polish ; the *Lithuanian*, Polish rather than German. In 1386 the great Lithuanian Prince Yagellon married Hedvig, Queen of Poland, and united the crowns ; from which time downwards the political histories of the two countries have been united. Of the two elements, the latter predominated—so that what is neither Lithuanic nor Russian in Lithuania is Polish.

The pre-historic period of the Lithuanians* (and this means nearly the whole of the time anterior to Yagellon) was probably that of so many other rude populations ; *i. e.*, a period of numerous tribes, internal feuds, and small chieftains.

* When speaking of the particular Lithuan-*ians* of Vilna, Kovno, and Grodno (*i. e.*, Lithuania Proper), I use this form; *i e.*, the form in *-ian.* When speaking of the *branch of the Sarmatian Stock* to which they belong, I use the form in *-ic*—Lithuan-*ic.*

Of these, some one with a greater power of political organization than his predecessors and cotemporaries, rises above the rest, and consolidates a nationality.

The extent to which the Lets and Lithuanians are, at the present moment, fragments of a larger population, is seen from the history of the Prussians and the Yatsh-vings; for the Prussians and the Yatsh-vings were populations of comparative importance. I hold, however, as the result of a considerable amount of neither impatient nor one-sided investigation, that all the acts of all the Old Prussians, and all the acts of all the Yatsh-vings, put together, are as nothing to the pre-historic actions of certain earlier members of this important and interesting stock. I claim for certain branches of it all that comes under what I call the *Gothic hypothesis* in the first instance, and, in the second, all that is deducible from the *Podolian*. I give these names simply because they are convenient. In a work like the present, where I am only ambitious of putting in an intelligible form the extent to which I differ from the generality of ethnologists and historians, I find this a compact way of expressing myself.

THE GOTHIC HYPOTHESIS.—If the reader will now bear in mind the remarks of the 14th chapter, upon the absence of any evidence to the existence of any German tribe having called itself *Goth* so long as it remained within the limits of Germany, and the further statement that that (or any similar) name only attaches itself to any German population when that population becomes occupant of the country of the *Getæ*, he will, to a great extent, anticipate my doctrine. He will not only see that the so-called Mœso-goths, Ostro-goths, and Visi-

goths were Go*ths* only in the way that Alfred was a Briton, or Santa Anna a Mexican, but he will also see, that, saving and excepting such actions as are done by those particular Germans who can be traced to a Gothic (or Getic) occupancy, the whole history of the Gothic name must be transferred to some other family of mankind. What was that family? I answer, the Lithuanic, or (if we prefer the expression) the Prussian. It might, indeed, be called the Gothic, or Getic, the Gothonian, or Gothinian.

This does not mean that Goth- (or Get-) was the name by which the Lithuanians designated themselves. It was rather the name by which they were designated by their neighbours, *when those neighbours were Slavonic.* The reader has been prepared for this by the remarks that I have made in the several cases of the Prussians, the Yatsh-vings, and the Gothini, which were to that effect. The Lets, on the other hand, and the Lithuanians who had no Slavonians on their frontier, are never so denominated.

If all this be true, the interpretation of the different forms of the root *G-t* must be that of the root *W-l,* in *Wales.* This (as we all know) means a native of certain counties west of Hereford and Shrewsbury; the counties of Carmarthen, Radnor, Merioneth, &c. But, it is not, for that reason, a native name. It is no *Welsh* word at all. It is German; and in more countries than one, where a German and a non-German population come in contact, the German uses it to denote his opposite. It applies to Italy; which, in the eyes of the Tyrolese, is *Wales.* He calls it *Welsh-land.* It applies to the *Wal-*

loon of the Forest of Ardennes who is a *Welsh*-man also. All these are *Wel*-sh; not because they are really so, but because the Germans so call them. Hence, the true inference from the remarkable distribution of this name, and its appearance at distant points, is the presence of a German population in the neighbourhood of its occurrence.

The words before us can supply a further illustration. They are all forms of the root *W-l*, in Anglo-Saxon *Wealh* (= *stranger*, *aboriginal Briton*, &c.). But they differ in form. The same takes place with the root *G-t*; which is *Goth-*, *Get-*, *Yatsh*, and much more beside. What are limits to these changes? To this I answer, that it is not I who bring under the same category the *Goth*, the *Gete*, the *Gothonian*, the *Gothinian*, the *Jute* of *Jut*-land, the *Yatsh*-ving, the *Vite** of *Vit*-land, and even (occasionally) the *Jut* of India. Current opinion identifies the majority of them. The most out-lying have some respectable name that guarantees their Gothicism. There is authority for all this, good or bad, as the case may be; authority which I allude to for the sake of narrowing the limits of my new position; this position being—

That wherever we have, at one and the same time, a probable form of the root *G-t*, and along with it a certain amount of evidence to the existence of a Slavonian population in the neighbourhood, and (along with that) signs of Lithuanic occupancy, which, *taken by themselves*, would be doubtful or insufficient, the conjunction of the three

* Compare *Vil*helmus with *Gul*ielmus = *Will*-iam.

criteria determines the Lithuanic character of the area or population to which they apply.

The results of this line of criticism give us the details of the Gothic hypothesis; the cumulative character on which it rests being specially pointed out. Taken by itself the presumed form of the root *G-t* may be unsatisfactory. So may the evidence of the Slavonic area in the neighbourhood. So may the signs of Lithuanic occupancy. But, taken conjointly, the evidence of the three criteria becomes sufficient.

Before this doctrine takes its application, I will explain what is meant by—

THE PODOLIAN HYPOTHESIS. The sketch of the criticism which demurs to the doctrine of the Asiatic origin of the languages of Europe allied to the Sanskrit, is referred to. It has its place in the 14th chapter, along with that on the word *Goth*. It prepares us for the necessity of pointing out some portion of Europe where such a language as that of the ancient literature of India, along with its cognate forms in Persia, is supposed to have originally developed itself. This must fulfil certain conditions. It must lie in contact with the Slavono-Lithuanic area, but it must lie beyond it. It must lie on the south and east thereof, rather than on the west and north. But it must not lie so far south as to impinge upon the area that the reconstruction of the original *situs* of the tongues allied to the Circassian and the other languages of Caucacus requires; nor yet so far east as to interfere with the western frontier of the Ugrian area. It must lie in a district in which a great amount of subsequent displacement has taken place. Lastly, it must

lie where no other language can claim a priority of occupancy. The Government of Podolia best satisfies these conditions—the conditions (mark the phrase) of a *provisional* and *hypothetical* localization. It does not profess to be historical. It merely satisfies certain conditions. Given, that the probability of the Sanskrit and its allied forms of speech having originated in Europe and having been propagated to Asia, is greater than that of the Slavonic, Lithuanic, German, Latin, and Greek languages having originated in Asia and extended to Europe—given, also, the fact that the relations of the Sanskrit to the Sarmatian tongues are greater than to the German, Greek, and Latin—what is the likeliest spot for the Sanskrit to have originally occupied? *Podolia* seems a strange answer: but any other name would (I imagine) be equally so. It may be thought unnecessarily precise. Perhaps, it is. It is laid, however, before the reader on the principle that "truth comes easier out of error than confusion." I have no objection to any one substituting for it *Volhynia*, or *Minsk*, or *Kiev*. Such a refinement would be a mere matter of detail. Let him only commit himself to some possible *situs*, and consider it simply in relation to the facts of the case before him. This, however, is not what is done. For reasons too lengthy to exhibit, it has come to be a generally received rule amongst investigators, that as long as we bring our migration from east to west we may let a very little evidence go a very long way; whereas, as soon as we reverse the process, and suppose a line from west to east, the converse becomes requisite, and a great deal of evidence is to go but a little way. The effect of this has been to

create innumerable Asiatic hypotheses, and few or no European ones. Russia may have been peopled from Persia, or Lithuania from Hindostan, or Greece from Asia, or any place west of a given meridian from any place east of it—but the converse, never. No one asks for proofs in the former case; or if he do, he is satisfied with a very scanty modicum: whereas, in the latter, the best authenticated statements undergo stringent scrutiny. Inferences fare worse. They are hardly allowed at all. It is all "theory and hypothesis" if we resort to them in cases from west to east; but it is no "theory" and no "hypothesis" when we follow the sun and move westwards.

The result of putting the two lines of migration on a level is the European origin of the Sanskrit language, and, as a means of its introduction into Asia, a pre-historic Slavono-Lithuanic conquest of India—a *Russian* conquest if we like to call it so, a Russian conquest any number of centuries B.C. The words *Podolian hypothesis* express this briefly, and (so) conveniently. At any rate, they are measures of the extent to which the author who uses them eschews indefinitude, and puts his views, whether right or wrong, in an intelligible and tangible form.

Turning from the east to the north, we now take cognizance of certain phenomena connected with the root *G-t* on the Baltic. In more than one of the North-German and Polish localities we have noticed it already. The *Guddon* of Prussia, and the *Yatsh*vings to the south of the *Guddon*, have been noticed—both, more or less, on the water-system of the Vistula. That these were *not* Germans, and that they *were* Lithuanic, has been stated, per-

haps, more than sufficiently. But there are other Goths besides. There are those who gave their name to the island *Goth*-land; those who gave their name to the two Swedish Provinces of East and West *Goth*-land; those who gave their name to *Jut*-land; and those who gave the name to *Vith*-es-land (or the land of the *Vitæ*), to the Danish islands. The *Geats* belonged to some of these divisions. I claim all this as Lithuanic; and, if I do so without going far into the proof, I find my excuse in the nature of the reasoning employed. It is eminently simple. Deduce the legitimate consequences from the Non-German character of the Goths and all the rest follows as a matter of common sense. Not that there is any want of special facts. On the contrary, there they are very numerous—numerous enough to decide the question in the absence of any preconceived hypothesis. But a certain preconceived hypothesis has never yet been absent—that being the German origin of everything that had a name beginning with *G* and ending in *T*, with a vowel between them.

More than one passage in the older Norse literature notifies the difference between the Swedes and the Goths.

More than one deity is common to the Scandinavian and Lithuanic mythologies; *e. g.*, *Perkunos* and *Fiorgyn*, *Prowa* and *Freya*.

More than one (or one hundred) words are at one and the same time Scandinavian, Lithuanic, and Non-German. Some of these are of no small interest; inasmuch as they occur in our own language; having come in from a land sufficiently Lithuanic to be called *Jut*-land—*woman* being one of these words; *ale*, another.

Of course, all this, and the like of it, can be explained differently, and made compatible with the German hypothesis. It can; but the German hypothesis is unfounded, inasmuch as its basic assumption has been cut away from under it.

*Pari passu* with the Lithuanic movements from Prussia there went on certain Slavonic ones from Mecklenberg, Pomerania, and Holstein. This is no mere assumption for the sake of accounting for the forms in *g-t*. In Holstein the evidence of a Slavonic occupancy is historic. It is all but historic in the island Laaland. It is an inference from more than one local name (*Wendsyssel* and *Sleeve*) in North Jutland.

What was *not* Lithuanic is as remarkable as what was. Norway was *not* so—or, if it were, but slightly. In Norway, where the archæologist finds no traces of what he calls his Bronze Period, the ethnologist finds no Goths —none of those tribes who, as early as the time of Tacitus, are said to use clubs rather than iron—*rarus ferri frequens fustium usus.*

Such is the probable pre-historic history of a population now sunken and reduced, a population to which I refer the earliest navigators of the North as well as the earliest conquerors of the East.

## CHAPTER XVII.

THE SARMATIAN STOCK CONTINUED—THE SERVIANS, BULGARIANS, AND POLES.

THE SERVIANS.—The early ethnology of Servia seems to have been simple. There were changes in certain details of the frontier; changes by which the Slavonic area may have encroached on the Albanian, changes by which the Albanian may have encroached on the Slavonic. There were also details in respect to the Greeks of Macedonia. None, however, are of great importance.

Neither were the influences of the Roman period. Of all the districts of the Danube, the reduction of Servia (or Upper Mœsia) seems to have been the least complete.

When the seat of government was changed, and Byzantium became Constantinople, the influence of Rome increased—but then the *Rome* was only a nominal one. It was Greek and Christian, rather than Italian and Pagan; the Christianity being that of the Greek Church. This was extended to Bulgaria and Servia, and along with it the old Slavonic alphabet, founded upon

the Greek and called Cyrillic, from St. Cyril, the Apostle of the Slavonians.

As Greek and Christian, Servia continued to be more or less Byzantine until the fourteenth century; when it took its place as a separate substantive kingdom under Stephan Dushan, who died A.D. 1355. This is the brilliant period of Servian history; the dependence upon Constantinople having been shaken off, and the career of Turk conquest having, as yet, to develop itself. By A.D. 1398, it had reached Servia; and from the defeat of the Servians on the field of Kossova to the present time, the political history of Servia has gone along with that of Turkey; though less since it was declared a separate though tributary principality, than before.

The Servian of Servia, the typical or Ultra-Servian, must be a very pure and unmixed division of the Slavonic branch of the Sarmatian stock. The Servian nationality, too, is of a very definite kind. That of the Montenegriners approaches it the closest.

The name is, more or less, general as well as special; as we have already seen. Within the Principality itself, the dialects are three—one, more or less, central; a second spoken in Northern Servia and Southern Hungary; the third in Western and Southern Servia. This latter extends, with but slight variations, over Bosnia, Herzegovinia, and Montenegro. On the Hungarian frontier a Servian is called *Ratsh (Racz);* and that by the Slovaks as well as the Majiars. This is important, because it shews that the word is Slavonic, and suggests a meaning to more forms than one like it—*Rhæt*-ia, *Rug*-ii, *Rug*-en, and *Rug*-en-walde.

In Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, Servian as is the language in its essentials, it changes its current denomination and is called *Slovenian*. Here the creed is Romanist, and a common *scientific* name for the language is *Illyrian*.

Say that in Styria and on the frontier of Bulgaria we find the two extremes of the Servian form of Slavonism —the one Servian in the strict sense of the word, the other Slovenian—the one Greek in creed, the other Roman—the one Austrian, the other either national or Turk—and we get, in Croatia, the transitional or intermediate forms.

This shews that two lines of ethnological influence from different directions meet in the Servian area—one Greek and Turk from the East, the other Roman and German from the West.

The Servians—whether we use the word in its general or its more special sense—are distinguished in many points from—

THE BULGARIANS.—The early history of these is obscure. Some portion of the Bulgarian migration was Turk; some, perhaps, Ugrian. That the *Bulg*-arians came from the Volga is suggested by the name: but that they are necessarily, and for that reason, of the same stock with the Bulgarians of Kazan is by no means the true inference. The Roman elements that were engrafted on the original population of Mœsia were further modified by the German occupancy of the Thervings and Grutungs from the parts north of the Danube, who were driven southwards by the Huns in the reign of Valens. After the breaking-up of the power of Attila, arose the *first* Bulgarian

kingdom, which lasted somewhat under 400 years; beginning about 640, and ending 1017. At the beginning of this period it was, probably, more Turk than Slave, at the end more Slave than Turk. At the beginning of it the Bulgarians were Pagan, at the end, Christian; the general history of their conversion, (the effect of their proximity to Constantinople,) being much the same as that of the Servians.

The second Bulgarian kingdom was Wallachian as well as Bulgarian; not that the Wallachians and Moldavians reduced the Bulgarians, or that the Bulgarians conquered the Danubian Principalities; but that there was a vast amount of immigration from the northern bank of the Danube to the southern. This extended itself even to Macedonia and Thessaly, and partially to Bosnia and Albania. Hence, we have even, at the present moment, over and above the Rumanyos of the Danubian Principalities, the Rumanyos, Wallachians, or Vlakhs of Bulgaria, of Macedonia, and of Thessaly.

After this, the bonds that connected Bulgaria with Constantinople became looser and looser until the Osmanli conquest incorporated Bulgaria with Rumelia—Mœsia with Thrace—the parts north with the parts south of the Balkan. Since then Bulgaria has been Osmanli in its political history, Slavonic in respect to its ethnology. Not, however, without more than one notable characteristic, as is to be expected from the mixed character of the blood.

Thus—the language, although closely allied to the Servian and Russian, is the only Slavonic form of speech wherein we find the same phenomenon that the Scandi-

navian tongues of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, and the Feroe Islands give us amongst the German class; *viz.*, the so-called post-positive article,—*i. e.*, the article at the end of the word as an affix. Thus, if *bord* (in Danish) mean *table*, the compound *bord-et* means *the table*. *Sol = Sun; Sol-en = the Sun*, &c. Now, this is Bulgarian also—Bulgarian, but not Russian; Bulgarian but not Servian; Bulgarian, but not Slovak, Polish, Tshekh, or aught else. On the other hand, it is Wallachian; and it is, more or less, Albanian also.

THE POLES.—The chief fact in the ethnology of the Poles is its extreme character; inasmuch as either they or the Bohemians are the types of the Western as opposed to the Eastern Slavonians. Like that of the Servians their blood is comparatively pure and unmixed; at least, in the western parts of the area. Like the Carinthians, Carniolans, Styrians, and Slovaks, their line of ethnological and historical influences has run from west to east, being—politically and ecclesiastically—German and Roman, rather than Turk or Greek.

Silesia, Lusatia, and Brandenburg seem to give us the oldest Polish occupancies. The reasons for going thus far westwards are common to the ethnology of both Poland and Lithuania. They have been already noticed. It can now be added, that I find no facts in the special ethnology of the early Poles, that complicate the view taken in respect to the southward and westward extension of the early Prussians and Yatshvings. On the contrary, the special facts, such as they are, are confirmatory rather than aught else of the western *origin*, and the eastern *direction*, of a Polish line of encroachment,

migration, occupancy, displacement, invasion, or conquest. Under the early kings of the blood of Piast (an individual, by the way, wholly unhistoric), the locality for their exploits and occupancies is no part of the country about the present capital, Warsaw, but the district round Posen and Gnesen; this being the area to which the earliest legends attach themselves; the parts east of the Vistula coming-in later.

Where this is not the case, where the Duchy of Posen or Prussian Poland does not give us the earliest signs of Polish occupancy, the parts about Cracow do. At any rate, the legends lie in the west and south rather than in the east; on the Saxon or the Bohemian frontier rather than the Lithuanic. The evidence of language points in the same direction. Dialectual varieties increase as we go westwards, decrease as we go eastwards.

But it is not from the parts about Posen alone that we deduce the whole of the pre-historic Polish movements. Both history and induction tell us that Brandenburg, Silesia, Lusatia, Saxony, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and even Luneburg were (if not absolutely Polish) Slavonic of the Polish type. In all these countries, the stream of German encroachment has enlarged itself, and effected displacements, obliterations, and amalgamations, at the expense of the original Slavonism. Nevertheless, in Upper and Lower Lusatia, and in the Circle of Cotbus in Brandenburg, the Slavonic of the Sorabians or Sorbs, still exists. So does the Kasub in Pomerania. So, until lately, did the Linonian in Luneburg.

Hence the ethnology of the Poles is that of a population encroached upon in one direction, encroaching in

another. The Germans displaced or intermixed with them; they—the Poles—displaced or intermixed with the Lithuanians.

Where is the blood the purest? In the parts about Posen. In Brandenburg, &c., it is more Polish than the language, the language being German. In the Duchy of Warsaw, on the other hand, the blood is, more or less, Lithuanic, the language being Polish.

In the pre-eminently Polish parts of Poland the blood must (as in the Ultra-Servian parts of Servia) be as pure as any in Europe; the original population being *in situ* and with a *minimum* of disturbance. Too far east for the German, too far west for the Russian and Turk occupancies, too far south for the Scandinavian, and too far north for the Roman, it lies beyond the pale of any known conquest; and this is what we can say of few localities besides. The Mongol inroads can have done but little. Liegnitz in Silesia was their extreme point; and although Liegnitz in Silesia be a point that lies far west for a wave of conquest from the Wall of China to have impinged upon, it is, nevertheless, south of the Duchy of Posen. So that the Duchy of Posen is that part of Poland; in which I can find nothing but what is Polish.

Of the Kasub fragment of the original Polish population of Pomerania I can give no good account.

The Silesian and Brandenburg Poles are represented, however, by the present Sorbs, Serbs, Srbs, or Sorabians, in the parts about Cotbus and Bautzen. The upper drainage of the River Spree gives us their geographical area. There are two dialects of their tongue; spoken, according to Schaffarik by—

| | |
|---|---|
| Upper Lusatians ..... | 98,000 |
| Lower Lusatians ..... | 44,000 |
| | 142,000 |

They are the descendants of the Milcieni and Lusici of the middle-age writers, Lusatia being said to take its name from the word *Luzha—fen*, or *moor*. Bautzen was the capital of the Milcieni—in the Slavonic, *Budusin*. The original Lusatia coincided with the parts between the Black Elster and the Spree. It was a *March* or *Border*, and has since extended itself over part of the country of the Milcieni.

Of the two Sorabian dialects, one uses *g* where the other uses *h*—just what the Poles and Bohemians do. This may be seen from the following table:—

| English. | U. Lusatian. | L. Lusatian. | Bohemian. | Polish. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Burn* | horicz | gorésch | horeti | gorec |
| *Bending* | horbaté | garbaty | hrbaty | garbaty |
| *Goose* | husa | guss | husa | ges |
| *Dove* | hoib | golb | holub | golab |
| *Caterpillar* | husancza | gussenza | housenka | gasienica |
| *Never* | nihdé | nigdy | nihdy | nigdy |
| *Foot* | noha | noga | noha | noga |
| *Fire* | wohen | wogén | ohén | ogien |
| *God* | boh | bog | büh | bóg |
| *Bank* | broh | brog | breh | brzez |

See Schneider's *Grammatik der Wendischen (Sorabian) Sprache*—Bautzen, 1853.

The fragments of the Sorabians lie on the Spree; those of the Polabingians, on the Lower Elbe—*i. e.*, in Luneburg. Their name fixes them to the Elbe; since *po* = *on*, and *Laba* = *Elbe*. The termination *-ing* is German. As this name may apply to more than one tribe pro-

vided it lie on the particular river that the name suggests, the exact Polabingian (or Polabisk) localities are uncertain. One was in Lauenburg; another in Luneburg, the tribe there settled being the Linones, Lini, or Linoges.

Such are the members of the Polish division of the Western Slavonians, whose languages either still exist or have become extinct but lately—the Luneburg Slaves, the Kasub or Pomeranian Slaves, and the Serb or Lusatian Slaves being but isolated fragments of a once continuous population. When this was in its full integrity, when Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, when Lauenburg and Holstein, when Saxony and Anhalt—indeed, when all the parts east and many of the parts west of the Saale were Slavonic—the populations were as follows:—

Beginning with the northern frontier of Saxony and the parts about Leipzig, we find between the Elbe and the Mulde, the *Daleminzi* with their fourteen towns; Dalmatians, as their name becomes in some authors. Close upon these, and along with them, the *Chutizi*, the *Colidici*, and the *Siusli*, may be considered as the representatives of the older *Semnones*.

Safely, then, and truly may we say, that if the Polish area have extended itself eastwards it has receded on the west. Hence, as the Pole has been to the Lithuanian, so has the German been to the Pole.

That *Pole* is a *common* rather than a *proper* name, has been already stated. It means an occupant of a level or champaigne country. This makes the term inconvenient, since a Pole in one sense may be anything but a Pole in another. In the particular case before us there is a second name in the field—*Lekh*. This is the more

native name of the two; since the relationship between the Polish and Bohemian sections of the Western Slaves is expressed in the eponymic legend that "Tshek and Lekh were brothers." More important is the fact that, word for word, *Lekh* is the same as the *Lyg*-ii of Tacitus and Ptolemy—some of which, at least, name for name, and place for place, were Poles. With the Semnones, then, and with the Lygii, the Slavonians of Saxony, Lusatia, Brandenburg, and Poland make their appearance in the field of history, as the true owners of what the German conquest converted into *Saxony*. The *Sorabi*, along with the *Milcieni* and *Lusici* already mentioned, are, more or less, in this same category.

Then, lying east of the Elbe and Oder, as occupants of what is now Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, came the *Hevelli* (on the *Hevel*), the *Smeldingi*, the *Bethenici*, the *Brizani* and *Stoderani*, the *Dossani*, the *Morizani*, the *Warnabi*, the *Liubuzzi*, *Ucri*, *Luticzi*, and several others—whilst Holstein gives us the *Wagrians*, Schwerin the *Obotrites*, and the Isle of Rugen the *Rugians*.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE RUMANYOS OF WALLACHIA, MOLDAVIA, BESSARABIA, ETC.

THE name *Wallachian* is by no means native. It is Slavonic and Romaic (modern Greek); the forms being *Olakh*. It is also Turk; for the Turks call Wallachia, Ak-*iflak*, or *White*—and Moldavia, Kara-*iflak*, or Black—Wallachia. The Majiar form is *Olah*.

It is also German; and, perhaps, this is what it was originally. If so, it is the same word as *Welsh*, and *Walloon*, and the same as *Valais* in Switzerland; in which case it means, in the mouth of a German, any population different from the one to which he himself belongs—*i. e.*, any *non*-German population. Who, however, were the Germans who gave this name, a name which the Slavonians, Greeks, and Turks have all adopted? Was it the Germans of Transylvania who entered that country in the latter half of the 12th century? The name occurs in Byzantine history too early for this. Was it the Grutungs and Thervings who, after their expulsion by the Huns, settled in the Roman province of Mœsia,

and played so prominent a part in the later Roman history under the inconvenient names of Ostrogoths and Visigoths? Perhaps. At any rate, however, the name is not native.

The name by which a Wallachian, a Moldavian, or a Bessarabian designates himself, is a name which we find, in some form or other, widely spread elsewhere, in a variety of forms, and with no slight latitude of meaning.

It is the name the Gipsies give themselves; which is *Rommani.*

It is the name of the Modern Greek language; which is *Romaic.*

It is the name of the language of the Grisons; which is *Rumonsch.*

It is the name of the old *Romance* language of France.

It is the name of that part of European Turkey which corresponds with ancient Thrace, and of which Constantinople is the capital,—*Rumelia.*

It is the name of a large portion of Asia Minor—*Roum.*

It is a name as honourable as it is widely spread; for wherever we find it it reminds us of the old sovereignty of Rome. The Gipsies spread over Europe from one of the chief Roman localities—little in the way of anything appertaining to Rome as they otherwise can boast of. The modern Greeks identify themselves with the Romans of the Eastern Empire; so that the tongue of Homer and Pericles takes its modern denomination from the metropolis of Virgil and Cicero. This same connection with the Eastern Romans (*Roman* here meaning *Greek*) gives us the names Roum and Rumelia. The Grisons and the

Romance country were not only Roman provinces, but the languages were of Roman origin also. And this is the case with Wallachia and Moldavia, and also with a notable portion of Bukhovinia, Transylvania, Hungary, and Bulgaria. The populations of these parts, who are neither Slavonians nor Majiars (nor yet Germans), call themselves *Rumanyo* or *Roman;* the claim to so honourable a name being attested by their language, which is a descendant of the Latin; as truly as the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French. When Dacia was reduced by the Romans under Trajan, a Roman nationality along with the Latin language was introduced. If so, the Rumanyos are no instances of a pure stock; and, although the blood they boast is good, it is far from unmixed.

Their language, separating them from the Slavonians, connects them with the most civilized countries of Western Europe; though it is nearly unintelligible beyond the boundaries of the ancient Dacia. Then it is strangely disguised in the writing and printing; inasmuch as the Rumanyo alphabet is Russian. This is as if Latin were written in Greek characters. The creed is that of the Greek Church.

Numbers within the limits of the Russian Empire—

| | |
|---|---|
| In the Government of Podolia..... | 7,429 |
| —— Ekaterinoslav. | 9,858 |
| —— Kherson ..... | 75,000 |
| In the District of Bessarabia ... | 406,182 |
| | 498,469 |

Say, that in round numbers, there are half a million

Rumanyos who are absolute subjects to the Czar, and we do it without taking cognizance of the Rumanyos of the Danubian Principalities, of the Rumanyos under Austria, of the Rumanyos of Bulgaria and Macedonia—for there are Rumanyos thus far beyond the proper Rumanyo area.

In Transylvania the Rumanyos are to the Majiars as nine to seven; the population for that province being—

| | |
|---|---|
| Rumanyos ..... | 900,000 |
| Majiars ..... | 700,000 |
| Germans ..... | 250,000 |
| Slavonians—say Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Gipsies—say ..... | 206,000 |
| | 2,056,000 |

The Wallachian statistics I am unable to supply. Probably, the population of the Principalities is not less than 2,000,000.

The following specimens of the language, from Schott's *Walachische Mœrchen*, shews the extent to which it resembles the Latin:

1.

| RUMANYO. | LATIN. |
|---|---|
| Bela in larga valle amblà, | Puella in larga valle ambulabat, |
| Erba verde lin calcà; | Herbam viridem leniter calcabat, |
| Cantà, qui cantand plangeà, | Cantabat, et cantando plangebat, |
| Quod tóti munti resunà. | Ut omnes montes resonarent: |
| Ea in genunchi se puneà, | Illa in genua se ponebat, |
| Ochi in sus indireptà; | Oculos sursum dirigebat; |
| Ecce, asi vorbe faceâ: | Ecce, sic verba faciebat: |
| Domne, domne, bune domne. | Domine, domine, bone domine. |

2.

| RUMANYO. | LATIN. |
|---|---|
| Nucu, fagu, frassinu | Nux, fagus, fraxinus, |
| Mult se certà intra séne. | Multum certant inter se. |
| Nuce, dice frassinu, | Nux, dicit fraxinus |
| Quine vine, nuci cullege, | Quisquis venit, nuces legit, |
| Cullegend si ramuri frange: | Colligendo ramos frangit: |
| Vaide dar de pelle a tua! | Væ itaque pelli tuæ! |
| Dar tu fage, mi vecine, | At tu fage, mi vicine, |
| Que voi spune in ménte tene: | Quæ exponam mente tene? |
| Multe fere saturasi; | Multas feras saturasti, |
| Qui prébéne nu amblasi; | At haud bene ambulasti; |
| Quum se au geru apropiat | Quum gelu appropinquat |
| La pament te au si culcat, | Ad pavimentum te deculcant |
| Si in focu te au si aruncat, etc. | Ad focum projiciunt. |

The following words do the same:—

| ENGLISH. | RUMANYO. | LATIN. |
|---|---|---|
| *Man* (the) | Omil. | Homo. |
| *Heaven.* | Ceriu. | Cœlum. |
| *Moon.* | Luna. | Luna. |
| *Mountain.* | Munte. | Mont. |
| *Lake.* | Lacu. | Lacus. |
| *Sea.* | Mare. | Mare. |
| *Bank.* | Ripa. | Ripa. |
| *River.* | Rivu. | Rivus. |
| *Smoke.* | Fumu. | Fumus. |
| *Spark.* | Schinte. | Scintilla. |
| *Light.* | Lumine. | Lumen. |
| *Shadow.* | Umbra. | Umbra. |
| *Wind.* | Ventu. | Ventus. |
| *Lightning.* | Fulger. | Fulgur. |
| *Water.* | Apa. | Aqua. |

This list, taken from Schott, might be enlarged to any amount. I draw attention, however, to only the first

and last words in it. In the word *omul* we have *homo ille; i. e.*, a substantive with the postpositive article, already noticed. In *apa*, as contrasted with *aqua*, we have a change of some interest, both on account of the regularity of its occurrence in Rumanyo, and its re-occurrence in one of the *Non*-latin dialects of Italy. Thus—

The Roman *nox* is in Rumanyo *nopte* = *night.*
—— *lac* —— *lapte* = *milk.*
—— *pectus* —— *peptu* = *breast.*

In like manner,

The Roman *quis* is in Oscan *pis*
—— *qui* —— *piei.*
—— *quid* —— *pid.*
—— *quod* —— *pud.*
—— *quos* —— *pus*, &c.

In like manner, too, and with equal regularity, in a still more distant class of languages,

The Irish *ceathar* is the Welsh *pedwar* = *four.*
—— *kuig* —— *pump* = *five.*

Does this change—*i. e.*, the one in Rumanyo—indicate the Oscan character of the Legionaries (soldiers) who occupied the Roman province of Dacia? This is a point I raise rather than answer.

The early ethnology of Western Wallachia is that of Eastern Transylvania; the only difference being that the Majiar conquest of Hungary has effected certain recent modifications in the latter country. It was originally Slavonic; Slavonic after the manner of the ancestors of the Servians in the south; Slavonic after the manner of the ancestors of the Ruthenians in the north; Slavonic of an intermediate and transitional character in the cen-

tre. In the east there was a certain amount of early Getic modification; and in the west a probably Slovak influence from the area of the Western, as opposed to the Eastern, Slavonians. But the two important displacements were those effected by the Turks and the Romans; the latter in the time of Trajan (A.D. 106), the former at different times and in a complex manner.

Thus—the old Agathyrsans must have occupied some portion of the present Rumanyo area.

The Huns and Avars were more or less similar occupants.

Certain Bulgarians—Slavonic, Ugrian, Turk, Roman, and Goth, in undefined proportions—were the same.

So were the Petshenegs; one of the forms of which name *(Bessi)* is still preserved in the word *Bess*-arabia.

On the other hand, the Grutungs and Thervings, some of whom must have occupied Rumanyo ground, were German.

Add to this, that Majiar elements can scarcely be wanting; inasmuch as the Principalities lie between the original Majiar area towards the south of the Uralian range and the present Majiar occupancy on the Danube.

The early *history* (properly so-called, and as opposed to the *ethnology*) of the Rumanyo districts is obscure; since they lay too far north of Constantinople to get much notice. It followed, however, that of the first Bulgarian kingdom, of which the Rumanyo country was a part; the Hun period having immediately preceded. Then, in the tenth century, came the Majiar invasion; the current account of this being to the effect, that the Majiars fled be-

fore the Petshenegs, and that the Petshenegs ruled as far as the Aluta, until the Uz and Cumanians pressed upon them. But little of this rests upon satisfactory evidence. Three nations, however, each representing a different family of mankind, seem to have taken part in the Rumanyo history of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries —the Turk Petshenegs, the Ugrian Majiars, and the, more or less, Slavonic Bulgarians.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century (say A.D. 1290) we find something like a Rumanyo nationality; for Wallachia, at least. The great Mongol inroads of the Temuginian period had passed over, when a Transylvanian, Radul the Black, consolidated a Wallachian Principality, extending from the Upper Aluta to the Sereth. Moldavia took form later. A.D. 1352, however, may be put down for the establishment of the preponderance of the Rumanyos over the Petsheneg Turks.

Here, there is something like a period of power and independence—power more or less organized, and independence more or less perfect. Bulgaria no longer encroaches from the south, and the Petsheneg power is broken up. Hungary, however, is more powerful than ever, and Poland is stretching itself from the Dnieper towards the Danube. Each of these powers has some share, great or little, material or moral, in the Rumanyo history of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fiteenth centuries. In 1526, the great battle of Mohacz (Mohatsh) subordinated Wallachia and Moldavia to the power of the Osmanli Turks, then the occupants of Constantinople and the terror of Eastern Europe.

The Rumanyo migration into and beyond Bulgaria,

during the Byzantine period, has been already mentioned. This gives us, over and above the Wallachians and Moldavians Proper, whose speech is called, in scientific language, Daco-Wallachian—

The Rumanyos of Macedonia, whose speech in similar scientific language is the Macedono-Wallachian. Another name for this branch is Kutzo-Wallachian. These fall into—

*a.* The northern branch, occupying a portion of the mountain-range between Macedonia and Albania.

*b.* The central branch, between Thessaly and Albania; mountaineers of the Pindus range.

*c.* The southern branch, between Bœotia and Southern Albania.

The Danubian Principalities took their Christianity from Bulgaria, and Bulgaria from Greece—the time of the Rumanyo conversion being the ninth and tenth centuries. Anterior to this, however, there may, or there may not, have been a slight infusion of Christian doctrine in the time of the Grutungs and Thervings.

The most general characteristic of the Rumanyos is their language. This distinguishes them at once from all other populations—both near and distant. Next to this, comes their creed; characteristic of a Rumanyo as opposed to a Majiar, but not distinctive of a Rumanyo as compared with a Bulgarian. Their dress, their domestic architecture (humble as it is), and their habits, supply other *differentiæ*. In respect to figure, they are dark and oval-faced, with prominent features and fairly-constructed frames—more tall than short. Their resemblance to the Dacian figures on Trajan's pillar has been enlarged upon

by several good observers. Their Christianity is still redolent of heathenism. I have before me a list of Wallachian deities, demons, genii, or whatever else they may be called. At the head of it stand *Smou* and *Smeone*, mother and son. Smou, the son, is compared by Schott to the German Rübezahl. He can change his shape, and visit men in any form he likes. He does so sometimes, and makes love to mortal maidens *incognito*. His dwelling is underground. Here his mother, Smeone, keeps house for him; upon the whole, being the better disposed being of the two; for Smou, though possibly more good than bad, is fickle and odd-tempered. It is his mother who keeps him steady and good-humoured.

Smou is as much good as bad; but *Balduru* is a being of unmodified evil. The fens, the bogs, the rocks, the glens, and the caverns, are his residences; and when men pass by any of these more suspicious-looking than usual, they tremble lest Balduru should lay hold of them.

*Vilva* is Wallachian, and Slavonic as well; in name, wholly; in attributes, but partially. In Servia she is the dark-eyed maiden of the night, with hair black and flowing, and eyes black and bright. In Wallachia she is half-dragon and half-snake—fearful to look on. However, each is the goddess of the sky; presiding over the clouds, and air, and all the skiey influences.

*Sina* is the Goddess of Hunting; Sina, who is also called Dina and Diana. She may safely be identified with the Latin Diana. But it is by no means so safe to derive her from Italy. The Bohemians, far beyond the influences of Rome, had also a Diana, of which the clas-

sical mythologists take too little cognizance. In like manner the Indian scholar ignores the fact of the Poles, in the pagan period, having had a *Veshna* and *Zhieva*. Such, however, is the case. I believe that this is one of the many facts which the Podolian hypothesis requires to be read backwards; *i. e.*, to take a converse interpretation to the usual one applied to it.

The *Muma padura*, the *Mother of the woods*, is more good than bad, more kind than vicious, more old than young. When children lose themselves in a forest, she protects them.

The water, like the wood, has its divinity. When the Wallachian maid fills her vessel, she pours out a spoonful or two for the goddess. Her name is not given.

The *Morii* are ghosts in general. So are the *Strigoi* (Latin *Strigæ*). When a child is born, the bystanders throw a stone behind them, saying, "This to the Strigoi."

The *Sinit (Sanctus)*, is the festival to the domestic genius, special to each hearth—the *Lar* of the Romans, with his feast-day under a Christian designation.

The *Murony* is the Vampire, in which every Romanyo believes.

*Priccolitsh* is a Murony under a modification, being, like the Vampire, a bloodsucker. It is, however, horses, goats, pigs, and sheep, rather than men, that he drains of their vital fluid. And this he does only at night, and after changing himself from his usual form of a human being into a dog. A female Priccolitsh is a *Priccolitshone*.

Name for name, though different in attributes, this Priccolitsh is the Sarmatian *Pikullos*. I say Sarmatian,

because he is Lithuanic as well as Slavonic; possibly, the more Lithuanic of the two. He and two others were the great Prussian divinities—Perkunos and Potrimpos. The Bishop of Warmeland in 1418, writes, "Expellendæ erant, et expulsæ sunt gentes servientes dæmonibus, colentes *Pacullum*, *Potrimpe* et alia ignominiosa fantasmata." But Pacullus was *not* expelled; not even when Prussia had got filled with bishops, not even when the old vernacular language died out. Pacullus, even in the year 1854, keeps his ground in Protestant Prussia as well as in Greek Wallachia. In a specimen of the Platt-deutsh of Nattangen I find the name *Pakulls*, just as we find in English that of Bogy or Old Scratch.

As to *Perkunos* he re-appears in the Scandinavian mythology as *Fiorgyn;* the German explanation being, that the Lithuanians took him from the Goths—the Goths, of course, being German.

*Statzicot* is the Rumanyo Tom Thumb.

## CHAPTER XIX.

THE MONGOLS, AND THE TUNGUSIANS—THE AINO, KORIAK, AND KAMSKADALES—THE INDIANS OF RUSSIAN AMERICA.

THE MONGOLS of the Russian Empire fall into two divisions, convenient rather than natural; viz.,—the Mongols of the Chinese frontier, and the Mongols of the Don and Volga. The former are occupants of their original and natural locality; the latter are colonists or settlers separated from their brethren of the interior of Asia, and brought into contact with Europeans.

The Mongolians of the Chinese frontier are either the Buriat, or the Olot; the Buriat to the east, the Olot to the west; the Buriat in contact with the Daourian Tungusians, the Olot in contact with the Kirghiz Turks.

*The Buriat.*—South of the Great Lake Baikal, and on the River Selenga, lies the frontier town of Kiatka, the great bazaar, market, or depôt for the trade between Russia and China. This is in the Buriat country, which extends along the frontier, eastward and westward. At the same time, the main body of the population belongs to China. This outer fringe (so to say) of Mongolism

does not extend very far into Russia; since the northern part of what we see in the maps marked as *Daouria*, is Tungusian.

*The Olot.*—In contact not only with the Chinese and Russian frontiers, but also with that of Independent Tartary, lie the Olot, on the drainage of the River Ili and the Lake Tenghiz or Balkash Nor. They fall into four tribes—the Dzungar, the Durbet, the Torgot, and the Khosot. From the first we get the names Dzungaria and Dzungarian for these parts; from the Durbet and Torgot, the Kalmuks of the Volga. In 1662, a vast division from these two tribes crossed the Yaik, and made for the Lower Don and the Lower Volga, where they settled, and are to be found at this present time. In 1770, a great portion of the Torgot returned to their original locality. The remnant, however, (chiefly Durbet,) is distributed as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| In Astrakhan ..... | 87,656 |
| — Don Kosaks..... | 20,591 |
| — Orenburg..... | ? |
| — Samar ..... | ? |
| — Saratov..... | 692 |
| — Stavropol ..... | 10,223 |
| | 119,162 |

*Kalmuk* is the name the Russians give them, a name which has found its way, though with a less definite signification, elsewhere. In Russia, however, the Kalmuk is always a Mongol; the Tartar, always a Turk.

The difference, however, between these two designations has, perhaps, been sufficiently enlarged upon already.

The following description of the Kalmuks of the Don Kosak country is from Dr. Clarke.* We shall find in it a picture of the so-called Mongol physiognomy in one of its more extreme forms. "Of all the inhabitants of the Russian empire, the Calmucks are the most distinguished by peculiarity of feature and manners. In their personal appearance, they are athletic, and very forbidding. Their hair is coarse and black; their language, harsh, and guttural. They inhabit the countries lying to the north of Persia, India, and China; but from their vagrant habits, they may be found in all the southern parts of Russia, even to the banks of the Dnieper. The Cossacks alone esteem them, and intermarry with them. This union sometimes produces women of very great beauty; although nothing is more hideous than a Calmuck. High, prominent, and broad cheek-bones; very little eyes, widely separated from each other; a flat and broad nose; coarse, greasy, jet-black hair; scarcely any eyebrows; and enormous prominent ears—compose no very inviting portrait.

"Their women are uncommonly hardy, and on horseback outstrip their male companions in the race. The stories related of their placing pieces of horse-flesh under the saddle, in order to prepare them for food, are perfectly true. They acknowledged that it was a common practice among them on a journey, and that a steak so dressed became tender and palatable. In their large camps, they have always cutlers, and other artificers in copper, brass,

* Travels, vol. i., part i., p. 241.

and iron; sometimes goldsmiths, who make trinkets for their women, idols of gold and silver, and vessels for their altars; also persons expert at inlaid work, enamelling, and many arts which we vainly imagine peculiar to nations in a state of refinement."

Again—he writes,* "We afterwards observed a camp of Calmucks, not far from the track we pursued, lying off in the plain to the right. As we much wished to visit that people, it was thought prudent to send a part of our Cossack escort before in order to apprize them of our inclination, and to ask their permission. The sight of our carriage, and of the party that was approaching with it, seemed to throw them into great confusion. We observed them running backwards and forwards from one tent to another, and moving several of their goods. As we drew near on foot, about half a dozen gigantic figures came towards us, stark naked, except a cloth bound round the waist, with greasy, shining, and almost black skins, and black hair braided in a long cue behind. They began talking very fast, in so loud a tone, and so uncouth a language, that we were a little intimidated. I shook hands with the foremost, which seemed to pacify them, and we were invited to a large tent. Near its entrance hung a quantity of horse-flesh, with the limbs of dogs, cats, marmots, rats, &c., drying in the sun, and quite black. Within the tent, we found some women, though it was difficult to distinguish the sexes, so horrid and inhuman was their appearance. Two of them, covered with grease, were lousing each other; and it surprized us that they did not discontinue their work, or even look

* Vol. i., part i., p. 236.

up as we entered. Through a grated lattice, in the side of the tent, we saw some younger women peeping, of more handsome features, but truly Calmuck, with long black hair hanging in thick braids on each side of the face, and fastened at the end with bits of lead or tin: in their ears they wore shells, and large pearls, of a very irregular shape, or some substance much resembling pearl. The old women were eating raw horse-flesh, tearing it off from large bones which they held in their hands. Others, squatted on the ground, in their tents, were smoking, with pipes not two inches in length, much after the manner of Laplanders. In other respects, the two people, although both of eastern origin, and both nomade tribes, bear little resemblance. The manner of living among the Calmucks is much superior to that of the Laplanders. The tents of the former are better constructed, stronger, more spacious, and contain many of the luxuries of life; such as warm and very good beds, handsome carpets and mats, domestic utensils, and materials of art and science, painting and writing. The Calmuck is a giant: the Laplander, a dwarf. Both are filthy in their persons; but the Calmuck more so than perhaps any other nation."

If our view of the Mongol stock is to become general and systematic, we must add to the Buriat and Olot divisions a third—viz., that of the Khalka-Mongolians or Khalkás. These are wholly subjected to China; their occupancy being to the north of the Great Wall, and (as such) lying on the drainage of Hoang-ho rather than that of any of the rivers that empty themselves into the Arctic Sea.

Of this Hoangho River the Khalka-Mongolians occupy the head-waters. They also occupy the watershed northwards—so that the Desert of Cobi is Khalka. The outline of this division is imperfectly known, it being only certain that it is very irregular; cutting into China, Chinese Tartary, and Tibet. The Mongolia of the maps is Khalka; the Dzungaria, Olot; the Daouria, Buriat and Tongus.

Let us now contrast the Mongol with the Turk; having first noticed the points in which they agree.

The Mongol physiognomy is that of the ruder Turks; only exaggerated.

The Mongol habits are those of the Kirghiz—exaggerated also in their extremely nomadic character.

The languages belong to the same great Turanian family.

The tenor of their histories has been alike; Dzhingiz-khan on one side, Tamerlane on the other, being the representatives of their respective heroes.

But—

Though the languages belong to the same great Turanian family, they belong to different divisions of it. To this add, that the directions of the lines of conquest have been different. The Mongol sword has chiefly turned its edge towards China, the Turk towards Europe. Much follows from this. It is China to which nine-tenths of Mongolia belong politically. It is China whence Mongolia takes its religious creed—this being Buddhism. The Mongol is a Buddhist; the Turk, a Mahometan.

At present, the Mongols are a quiet population, eminently amenable to the management of their priests. They must have been something very different in the Temu-

ginian times. What they were then, or soon after, we learn best from Marco Polo, who visited the court (or camp) of Dzhingiz-khan's grandson, in the fourteenth century. Their manner of warfare, and their military organization, are thus described:—"When one of the great Tartar chiefs proceeds on an expedition, he puts himself at the head of an army of a hundred thousand horse, and organizes them in the following manner:—He appoints an officer to the command of every ten men, and others to command a hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand men, respectively. Thus, ten of the officers commanding ten men take their orders from him who commands a hundred; of these, each ten from him who commands a thousand; and each ten of these latter from him who commands ten thousand. By this arrangement, each officer has only to attend to the management of ten men, or ten bodies of men; and when the commander of these hundred thousand men has occasion to make a detachment for any particular service, he issues his orders to the commanders of ten thousand to furnish him with a thousand men each; and these, in like manner to the commanders of a thousand, who give their orders to those commanding a hundred, until the order reaches those commanding ten, by whom the number required is immediately supplied to their superior officers. A hundred men are in this manner delivered to every officer commanding a thousand, and a thousand men to every officer commanding ten thousand. The drafting takes place without delay, and all are implicitly obedient to their respective superiors. Every company of a hundred men is denominated a *tuc*, and ten of these constitute a *toman*.

"When the army proceeds on service, a body of men is sent two days' march in advance, and parties are stationed upon each flank and in the rear, in order to prevent its being attacked by surprise. When the service is distant, they carry but little with them, and that, chiefly, what is requisite for their encampment, and utensils for cooking. They subsist for the most part upon milk, as has been said. Each man has, on an average, eighteen horses and mares, and when that which they ride is fatigued, they change it for another. They are provided with small tents made of felt, under which they shelter themselves against rain. Should circumstances render it necessary, in the execution of a duty that requires dispatch, they can march for ten days together without dressing victuals: during which time they subsist upon the blood drawn from their horses, each man opening a vein and drinking from his own cattle. They make provision also of milk, thickened and dried to the state of a hard paste (or curd), which is prepared in the following manner:—They boil the milk, and skimming off the rich or creamy part, as it rises to the top, put it into a separate vessel, as butter; for so long as that remains in the milk, it will not become hard. The latter is then exposed to the sun until it dries. Upon going on service, they carry with them about ten pounds for each man, and of this, half a pound is put, every morning, into a leathern bottle or small *outre*, with as much water as is thought necessary. By their motion in riding, the contents are violently shaken, and a thin porridge is produced, upon which they make their dinner.

"When these Tartars come to engage in battle, they

never mix with the enemy, but keep hovering about him, discharging their arrows first from one side and then from the other, occasionally pretending to fly, and during their flight, shooting arrows backwards at their pursuers, killing men and horses, as if they were combating face to face. In this sort of warfare the adversary imagines he has gained a victory, when in fact he has lost the battle; for the *Tartars*, observing the mischief they have done him, wheel about, and, renewing the fight, overpower his remaining troops, and make them prisoners in spite of their utmost exertions."

It is not necessary to identify the Mongol with the "fugax Parthus" of antiquity, so formidable to Rome and Persia. At the same time, true Mongol conquests have taken place within the period of definite history, both in Persia and in India, and at the present moment the Mongolian language is spoken in the Hazara country —in the north of Affghanistan. This gives us a fourth section—or sub-section—of the family.

The Mongolian alphabet is peculiar, being neither Arabic nor Chinese. Its history is as follows:—

The earliest Mongol conquerors understood the value of literature, and soon after the death of Zingiz-Khan the language was reduced to writing; the alphabet, which was subsequently extended to the language of the Mantshu nation, having been adopted from that of the Uighur Turks. Amongst the Uighur Turks it was introduced by the Nestorian Christians, an influence of which the importance in these parts has yet to be duly appreciated. As such, its original source is the Syriac. Of the Syriac alphabets it is most like the Palmyrene.

It is written vertically; *i. e.*, so as to be read from the top of the page to the bottom.

The Mongols (Kalmuks) of Stavropol have been converted to Christianity.

THE TUNGUSIANS.—The Turks and Mongols, with a certain amount of common characters, differ sufficiently to be referred to separate divisions of the same stock. The same applies to the Turks and Ugrians. The same applies to the *Tungús*, or *Tungusians*.

This is a word of equal value in the way of classification with the three just noticed. It is the name of a primary division of the great Turanian group of tribes and nations. It originates in the word *donki*'–*men*, the term by which some of the populations included in the class designate themselves. The Chinese form is *Tung-chu*. This gives us the Russian *Tungús*.

A more northern position, a greater range of climate, an approach in some cases to the hunter and fisher, rather than to the pastoral, states, a more partial abandonment of the original Shamanistic Paganism, and a later literature, are the chief points which differentiate the Tungús tribes from the Mongol.

In the way of conquest the Tungusian analogues of the Temuginian Mongols, and the Osmanli, Seljukian, and Timurian Turks are the Mantshu—the latest conquerors of China.

If we lay out of our account the unimportant tribes of the Southern or Soiot Samoyeds, and also some equally insignificant fractions of the Aino class on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, we shall find that the populations common to the Russian and the Chinese Empires are

(*a*) the Turk, (*b*) the Mongol, and (*c*) the Tungús—the Turk on the western, the Mongol in the middle, and the Tungús on the eastern frontier. Chinese Tungusia lies due north of Peking, coinciding pretty accurately with the water-system of the Amur or Saghalin River—Mongolia lying to the westward. The particular section of the stock here occupant, is the Mantshu; so that Chinese Tungusia is Mantshuria, and *vice versâ*. The Mantshu Tungusians are the most civilized of the family, having adopted both the creed and alphabet of the Mongolians, to say nothing about the effects of the Chinese conquest.

In Russian Siberia, on the other hand, we have the Tungusians in their more extreme character of rude nomades; still unlettered, still pagan, or but imperfectly Christian. And here they extend far and wide—from the Sea of Okhotsk to the Yenisey; from Daouria to the Arctic Sea. The Tshapodzhir on the Lena are Tungús. The Lamut on the Sea of Okhotsk are Tungusian also. Daouria, when not Mongolian, is Tungús. The two rivers that feed the Yenisey from the east—the two Tunguskas—proclaim, by their name, the Tungús character of their occupants. The Vitim Steppe and the parts about Nertshinsk and Barguzin are Tungús.

The Tungús area, then, is wide—very wide. We may add that it is irregular in outline, because, in some instances, the stock has encroached on its neighbours; in others, its neighbours have encroached upon it. The latter has, probably, been the case with the Yakuts; inasmuch as all evidence shews that they have been a population whose movement has been from south to north. If so, *some* of the older and more northern occupants of

their present area must have been, more or less, Tungusian. Others, and perhaps the majority, were Yukahiri. *Some*, however, must have been Tungús.

On the other hand, to say nothing about the Mantshu conquest of China, the Tungusians must have intruded themselves into countries originally beyond the pale of their occupancy, in the parts about the Lower Yenisey; the tribes that they either displaced or modified being Samoyed, Yukahiri, or something intermediate and transitional to the two. For it must be remembered, that whilst the language last named is Ugrian, the interjacent Tungusians are not so.

It is also likely that, if we could reconstruct the earliest ethnology of the drainage of the Amur—of Mantshuria—we should find it to be other than what it is at present. The Korean branch of the stock that will next be noticed, must have extended itself further northwards. In like manner, the Aino of the Kurilian Islands must have extended itself further westwards. Both these areas have been encroached on; and upon both, the encroachment has been made by Tungusians—the Tungusians of Mantshuria, or the Mantshu.

The Tungusian approaches the Mongolian, the Ostiak, or the Eskimo, according as his residence lies north or south; within the limit of the growth of trees, or beyond it; on the Champagne, on the Steppe, or on the Tundra. On the latter, the horse ceases to be the domestic animal, and the reindeer or the dog replaces him. Hence, we hear of the three divisions of the family under notice of the Horse Tungusians, of the Reindeer Tungusians, and of the Dog Tungusians.

One of the most unexplored parts in all Siberia is in Tungusia—viz., the country between the Lena and the head waters of the Kolima, Yana, and Indidzhirka. Its exploration, however, is said to be in contemplation.

THE PENINSULAR STOCK.—With the exception of the Namollos of the extreme north-east, and the Aleutian Islanders, (who are American, in respect to their geography, rather than Asiatic,) the remainder of the Siberian subjects of Russia belong to a stock which the present writer has named *Peninsular*, from the fact of either islands or peninsulas constituting its chief occupancies.

The divisions of the Peninsular stock are—

1. The *Koreans* of the Peninsula of Korea; partly subject to Japan, partly to China.

2. The *Japanese* of Japan and the Lutshu Isles. With both the Koreans and the Japanese the civilization of China has taken root.

3. The *Aino* of the Kurile Islands.

4. The *Koriaks.*

Of these Peninsulars it is only the last two that are, in any way, under Russia.

Of the *Aino,* a small section occupies the continent. The Russian part of this lies just north of the Chinese or Mantshurian frontier.

The *Koriak* division is more important. With the exception of a tract in the extreme corner of Asia, extending along Behring's Straits, and at the mouth of the Lower Anadyr, all that portion of North-eastern Asia which is neither Yukahiri nor Tungusian, is *Koriak* or *Korœki.* This is a general name. It is general, even

when used with Klaproth's limitations; when used in the sense with which it appears in the Asia Polyglotta. In that valuable repertorium of Siberian philology, the Kamskadale of the southern part of Kamskatka is raised to the level of a separate substantive class, contrasted with, and independent of, the Koriak. In the present volume the Kamskadale is connected with the Koriak, and subordinated to it.

Koriak is the name which Klaproth gave; neither is there any reason to refine upon it, since it is much easier to shew a few points in which it is exceptionable, than to suggest a better one. The area covered by the numerous populations of this group is more remarkable for its northern position and its relations to the American continent, than for its magnitude. This is but moderate. It far falls short of the vast area of the Tungusian Mongolian and other Siberian families. From north to south it extends from 70° to 60° north latitude, its longitude being less definitely marked. It is bounded on three sides by the sea, although, at the same time, it is more or less separated from Behring's Straits by the Asiatic Eskimo; and it is conterminous on the west and south-west with the Yukahiri and the Lamut Tungusians.

If Koriak (or Korœki) be a general term, it is also a specific one as well. It applies to the whole family at large; but it also applies to a particular portion of it—the Korœki proper of the northern third of the Peninsula of Kamskatka, and the parts around the Gulf of Pendzhinsk. These are the central tribes of the group. On the south come the *Kamskadales Proper*, a re-

duced and impoverished population; on the north, the *Tshuktshi.*

The Tshuktshi still keep independent of Russia; so that their country can, with great difficulty, be visited. They seem to be a powerful people. They have encroached on the Yukahiri west, and on the Kamskadales south. The Russians are unwilling or unable to interfere much with them. The chief sources of our information are a notice of Matiushkin's in Wrangell's Travels in Siberia, who visited their country from the west, and Lieutenant Hooper's work on the *Tuski* (as he calls the tribe with which he came in contact), descriptive of the populations to the north of Behring's Straits. Their paganism, which extends in an unmodified form through the whole length and breadth of their area, is of the Shamanist kind, so prevalent in Central Asia and Siberia; their social organization, complex; their frames and constitutions, vigorous.

The political independence of the Tshuktshi sections of the Koriak division of the Peninsular stock is one of the more important points of their ethnography.

Their relation to certain populations of America is another.

A third point requiring notice is their name.

Generally, when we meet a writer who, having visited *both* sides of Behring's Straits, has gone sufficiently far inland to leave behind him the Eskimo populations which, both in Asia and America, fringe the coast, we find that he enlarges upon the physical likeness between the Koriaks and the American Indians, a likeness which we cannot but admit as real; even if we remember the fact of

their both standing in contrast to the Eskimo tribes with which they are in contact, and the likelihood of such contrast misleading the observer; inasmuch as two tribes, unlike a third, may easily pass for being liker each other than they really are.

Allowing, however, for this, the American physiognomy of the Tshuktshi Koriaks, or (changing the expression) the Tshuktshi physiognomy of the North American Indians, must be admitted. *Valeat quantum.*

The *name* next commands our notice. In the first place it takes a variety of forms. Lieutenant Hooper calls the tribes with which he came in contact *Tuski*, expressly stating that it is a name *applied by the people themselves to themselves*, rather than any foreign appellation, and, also, suggesting an explanation in respect to its meaning.

The chief *forms* which are to be contrasted with Mr. Hooper's *Tuski*, are *Tshutski*, *Tshuktshi*, *Tshautsau*, and *Tshekto*.

The chief *significations* are as follows:—*Tshekto* is translated *people*, and *Tshautshau* is rendered "*settled men*" (*Ansassige* in the Asia Polyglotta), Mr. Hooper's rendering of *Tuski* being "*brothers or friends.*" There are difficulties here which it would take too long to investigate. It is more important to guard against certain ambiguities connected with its application.

It is applied to the population with which we are dealing at the present moment; viz., the Koriaks Tshuktshi.

But it is also applied to a population which we have, as yet, only cursorily mentioned; viz., the Eskimos of the north-eastern extremity of Asia.

What these *ought* to be called will be seen in our notice of—

THE TRIBES OF RUSSIAN AMERICA.—The first of the three families into which the aborigines of Russian America are divided, is—

1. *The Eskimo.*—Its area is as follows: the whole of the coast of the Artic Ocean, and the coast from Behring's Straits to Cook's Inlet, along with the islands of St. Laurence, Nunivock, and Kadiak, including the peninsula of Aliaska, and the lower parts of the rivers Kwichpak, Kuskokwim, and others of less importance; *the lower parts, but not the head-waters.* As we proceed inland the type changes.

The particular Eskimo tribes that have been enumerated as the occupants of this area, when we get at their native names, modified as they are by passing through Russian and German media, are—the Agoleg-*meut,* the Kiyataig-*meut,* the Magi-*meut,* the Agul-*meut,* the Pashtolig-*meut,* the Tatshig-*meut,* the Mali-*meut,* the Anlyg-*meut,* the Tshanag-*meut,* and the Kwichpak-*meut,* all ending in *meat,* and all bearing names of the same kind, with such words as Appennini-*colæ,* &c., in Latin. Kwichpack-*meut,* for instance, is manifestly the *occupants of river Kwichpak.*

Add to these the Inkalit, the Inkaleklait, and the *Kus*-kutshevak; these last being the tribes of the river *Kus*-kokwim, between the Kwichpak and the Aliaskan peninsula.

At Cook's Inlet the *original* Eskimo area ends; the occupancy now becoming Athabaskan. At King (Prince ?) William's Sound, however, the Eskimos re-

appear; but not as the aborigines of the country. Here it is where we find the most southern members of the group—the Tshugatsi. The Tshugatsi (or "men of the sea," the name being Athabaskan) "state, that, in consequence of some domestic quarrels, they emigrated in recent times from the island of Kadiak, and they claim, as their hereditary possessions, the coast lying between Bristol Bay and Behring's Straits. They are of middle stature, slender, but strong, with skins often brown, but in some individuals whiter than those of Europeans, and with black hair. The men are handsomer than the women. Their manners were similar to those of the *Kuskutshevak* and other communities living more to the north; but in later times they have carried off the women of the more southern tribes, and from their intermarriages with their captives, combined with their long intercourse with the Russians, their customs, opinions, and features have undergone a change, so that they have now a greater resemblance to the inland Indians than to the northern Eskimos." *

So much for the Eskimos of Russian America; with whom, however, the list of Eskimo populations in general neither begins nor ends. The great extent of their area has always commanded the attention of ethnologists. They fringe the whole coast of the Arctic Sea, and occupy its islands and peninsulas. They lap round the shores of Hudson's Bay. Greenland is Eskimo; and Labrador is Eskimo, as well.

The Eskimo is the only population clearly and un-

* Sir J. Richardson's Arctic Searching Expedition, vol. i., p. 364.

doubtedly common to the two worlds—the Old and the New—Asia and America; and hence it has an Asiatic section, which still stands over for notice. This falls into two divisions; *a*, the Aleutian, and, *b*, the Namollo.

The Aleutians occupy the whole of that range of islands which run from Kamskatka to the Aliaskan Peninsula, Behring's Isle, Copper Isle, Unalashka, the Rat Isles, the Prebülowüni Isles, the Andreanowsky Isles, &c.

The Namollos belong to the continent; Tshuktshinoss and the mouth of the Anadyr being their occupancies. Such parts, in short, of the north-eastern extremity of Asia as are not Koriak are Eskimo—Eskimo-Namollo, or Namollo-Eskimo.

2. *The Athabaskans.*—The second section of the aborigines of Russian America is the Athabaskan, so denominated because the lake Athabaska is a convenient geographical centre for its numerous divisions and subdivisions. To this belong the Athabaskans of Cook's Inlet, a population which has been already named. They call themselves *Tnai*, or *Atna=men;* so that it is their Eskimo neighbours from whom we get the name *Kenay.*

Then there are the Atna of Copper River, a closely allied tribe; so that, if we wish to speak *very* specifically, we may talk of the *Kenay* Atnas, and the *Copper-river* Atnas, distinguishing between the two. In the present state of our knowledge this is the safest language, inasmuch as the name itself means but little. There are several *Atna* populations; some closely, some distantly connected. One lies as far south as New Caledonia,

and belongs to a different division of the great North American group from that to which we refer the Athabaskan Atnas; though, at the same time, the present distinctions may give way to future investigations.

Both the Atnas under notice reach the sea. On the other hand, the *Koltshani* tribes lie inland. This is a word in the Copper-river dialect of the Atna, meaning *strangers;* the Kenay form being *Goltsani*, with the slightly modified meaning of *guests.* Cannibalism is laid to the charge of these Koltshani, though upon doubtful grounds. They extend as far inland as the water-shed between the Copper-river and the Yukon.

The Ugalents, or (with their name in the Eskimo form) *Ugalyach-meut*, are a small tribe in the parts about Mount Elias, consisting of some forty families—no more.

All these Athabaskans have been described by the Russians, whose observations have been made from the side of the coast rather than from the interior.

For the tribes in the direction of the British frontier, we must seek our information from British sources. The fur-agents of the parts about the Great Bear Lake supply us with our ethnology here.

Some of the tribes are common to the two territories, and all are closely (*very* closely) allied to that particular division of the Athabaskans, which are known under the names of *Loucheux*, *Digothi*, and *Kutshin;* this last being the designation under which they are fully and graphically described in the valuable work of Sir John Richardson already quoted and the authority for what is forthcoming.

The particular Kutshin tribes which, on evidence more or less satisfactory, may be placed within the Russian frontier, are the following :—

1. The *Artez-kutshi*, or the *tough (hard) people.* The 62nd parallel cuts their country; so that they lie between the head-waters of the Yukon and the Pacific. The evidence that they extend over the frontier is not quite conclusive. I infer, however, that they do.

2. The same applies to the *Tshu-kutshi*, or *people of the water.* The banks of Deep-river give us their occupancy; but Deep-river is common to both the Russian and British territory. Number, 100.

3. The *Tathzey-kutshi*, or *people of the ramparts*, the *Gens du Fou* of the French Canadians, are spread from the upper parts of the Peel and Porcupine rivers, within the British territory, to the river of the Mountain-men, in the Russian. The Upper Yukon is, therefore, their occupancy. They fall into four bands; *a*, the *Tratsè-kutshi*, or *people of the fork of the river; b*, the *Kutsha-kutshi; c*, the *Zèkà-thaka* (*Zi-unka-kutshi*), *people on this side (or middle people);* and, *d*, the *Tanna-kutshi*, or *people of the bluffs.*

Numbers of men of the Kutsha-kutshi, 90
——— Ziunka-kutshi, 20
——— Tanna-kutshi, 100

4. The *Teytsè-kutshi (people of the shelter)* number about 100 men, and dwell about the influx of Russian-river; whilst, nearer still to the mouth of the Yukon, and (probably) conterminous with the Eskimo Kwich-pak-meut, are—

5. The *Tlagga silla*, or *little dogs.* Of the—

6, 7. *Vanta-kutshi (people of the lakes)*, with 80, and the *Neyetse-kutshi (people of the open country)*, with 40 men, I only find that they belong to the Porcupine-river, a river partly British and partly Russian.

South of Mount Elias, or the Ugalents district, the Russian possessions lose their breadth, and take the form of a narrow strip of land, interposed between the British territory and the Pacific; to which may be added the islands and archipelagoes as far as 55 N. L.

Here the ethnology is generally considered to change, and the populations to become—

3. *Kolútsh.*—I have but little doubt as to the meaning and origin of this word, believing it to be the same word as the Atna, or Athabaskan, *Koltshani (Goltsani) =stranger (guest).*

Of the tribes belonging to the Kolútsh division, the most important, and best known, are the populations around the Russian port of Sitka, or Norfolk Sound.

The Indians who speak the language of these parts, for which (by the way) we have several vocabularies, are, according to Mr. Green, an American missionary, 6,500.

Next to the Unalashkans of the Aleutian Islands, the Sitká Indians are the most modified by Russian influences.

A short vocabulary, collected by Mr. Tolmie, and published by Dr. Scouler, of the *Tungaas*, is sufficient to shew its Sitka affinities, and, consequently, to place it in the Kolútsh class; whilst another, equally short, collected by the late Lieutenant Hooper, from the *Tshil-cot* Indians about Lynn's Canal, does the same.

The Tungaas is spoken over the greater part of Prince of Wales' Archipelago, and on the coast opposite. At the southern extremity, however, of the Archipelago, it is replaced by the *Haidah* tongue. Now, the Haidah (along with the Chemmesyan of Observatory Inlet) is the most northern of the dialects of British Oregon, and, consequently, is a form of speech (like the Kutshin and Eskimo) common to the two territories.

Our details are now coming to a close; the *Nehanni* alone standing over. These, according to Mr. Isbister, "range the country between the Russian settlements on the Stikine River and the Rocky Mountains, where they are conterminous with the Carriers of New Caledonia on the south, and the Dahodinnies of M'Kenzie's River on the west. They are a brave and warlike race; the scourge and terror of the country round. It is a curious circumstance, and not the less remarkable from the contrast to the general rule in such cases, that this turbulent and ungovernable horde were under the direction of a *woman*, who ruled them, too, with a rod of iron, and was obeyed with a readiness and unanimity truly marvellous. She was certainly a remarkable character, and possessed of no ordinary share of intelligence. From the fairness of her complexion and hair, and the general cast of her features, she was believed to have some European blood. Whether through her influence or not, the condition of the females among the Nehannies stands much higher than among the American Indians generally. The proper locality of the Nehanni tribe is the vicinity of the sea-coast, where they generally pass the summer. In the winter they range the country in

the interior for the purpose of bartering, or plundering, furs from the inland tribes; acting as middlemen between them and the Russian traders. They agree in general character with the Koloochians, having light complexions, long and lank hair, fine eyes and teeth, and many of them strong beards and moustaches. They are not generally tall, but active and vigorous, bold and treacherous in disposition; fond of music and dancing, and ingenious and tasteful in their habits and decorations. They subsist principally on salmon, and evince a predilection for a fish diet, which indicates their maritime origin. Like all the north-west tribes, they possess numerous slaves; inhabitants, it is understood, of some of the numerous islands which stud the coast, and are either taken in war or bought of the neighbouring tribes."*

Whether these *Nehanni* be Kolútsh or Athabaskan, I am unable to say, having seen no undoubted sample of their language. The description of them would almost serve for that of the Kutshin; and to the Kutshin I am most inclined to assimilate them. It is in the Kutshin language that their name has a meaning= *mountaineer;* and in the Kutshin country the name itself (as applied to the Indians of the Big Beaver Mountains) re-occurs.

Such is the distribution of the aborigines of Russian America over the three groups known under the denominations of (*a*) Eskimo, (*b*) Athabaskan, and (*c*) Kolútsh. The extent to which the groups run into each other, their consequently provisional character, and

* Transactions of the British Association, &c., 1847, p. 121.

the relations between the north-western Americans and the north-eastern Asiatics, are exhibited in almost all the works of the present writer, wherein the subject is touched upon; the fact of the Eskimo tribes graduating into the American Indians, and the Asiatic origin of the latter being points to which, after the due consideration of the numerous opposite doctrines, he has no hesitation in committing himself.

## CHAPTER XX.

THE DIOSCURIAN (CAUCASIAN)—ARMENIAN—AND OTHER POPULATIONS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

THE DIOSCURIANS of the mountain-range of Caucasus, must be distinguished from the Russian Government of Caucasus. This is absolutely necessary.

It is almost as necessary that the adjective *Caucasian*, as a term in Ethnology, should be disused; and that on account of the ambiguities it engenders. This has been the case ever since the word has borne that wide and general sense which was given it by Blumenbach, and which has prevailed from his time to the present day—a sense which makes it comprize nearly all the populations of Europe, and some of those of Asia and Africa—Greeks, Italians, Slavonians, Germans, Indians, Arabs, and Jews. It is clear, that when we come to a subject so specific as the ethnology of particular tribes occupant of a particular mountain-range, any power so general as the one just indicated becomes inconvenient.

The term by which I propose here, as I have already done elsewhere, to replace it, is *Dioscurian—Dioscurias* being one of those towns of the sea-coast which are not only mentioned by ancient writers, but mentioned

with reference to one of the most remarkable characteristics of modern, as it also was of ancient, Caucasus. This is the multiplicity of languages and dialects. The business (says Pliny) of Dioscurias had to be transacted through the medium of thirty interpreters. The number of interpreters that would be requisite for a similar function in modern Caucasus, is undoubtedly fewer—the Turkish being pretty generally understood, and serving as a kind of *lingua franca*. Nevertheless, the actual number of separate substantive languages, dialects, and sub-dialects, is not much less than it was in the second century. Let us see what it amounts to.

1. There is the intrusive and foreign *Russian*, of such fortresses as Anape, such towns as Tiflis, and such frontiers as that between the *Government* of Caucasus, and the *mountains* of that name.

2. There is more than one form of the *Turk*, spoken in patches more or less isolated; spoken, too, along the frontier; spoken, too, on the Lower Kur. Along the frontier it is the Nogay; in the chief patches, the Karatshai and Basian Turk. Practically speaking, these belong to one and the same language—all the varieties and sub-varieties being mutually intelligible. It is in the Turk that a greater number of the geographical names for the different rivers, mountains, and towns of Caucasus, have come to us—*e. g.*, the words ending in *su* (*river*) and *tau* (*tagh* or *dagh*=*mountain*); Koi-*su*, for instance, and Kara-*tau*.

3. The *Armenian* lies too far south to be dealt with as truly Dioscurian. It was, however, doubtless one of the tongues of Pliny's list.

4. The *Georgian* is truly, and in every respect, Dioscurian. On the Lower Kur, it is replaced by the Turk of Shirvan and Sheki. On the Middle and Upper Kur, for the parts about Tiflis, the particular dialect called Kartulinian prevails; this being the classical, standard, or literary Georgian, its alphabet being peculiar, but, notwithstanding its peculiarities, capable, through the sacred or ecclesiastical form of writing, of being traced to and affiliated with the Armenian.

Another form of speech prevails in Mingrelia and Imeretia; and a third (the Lazic) in that part of the Pashalik of Trebizond, which lies between Trebizond itself and the Georgian frontier.

The fourth form is the Suanic, spoken by the mountaineers, north-west.

It is clear, that in Georgia the dialectual varieties increase, the Suanic and Lazic being, for undoubted dialects, of one and the same language, outlying forms of speech.

5. After Georgia, comes *Circassia*—such, at least, is the usual association. The dialects here are not less than three in number; viz., one for the Tsherkes, who occupy the southern feeders of the Upper and Middle Kuban; one for the Abassians on the south and east; and one for the Kabardinians of the Great and Little Kabardah, occupants of the Upper portion of the Terek. Of the Abassian, there is, at least, one sub-dialect, the Alte-kesek or Tapanta.

6. The *Lesgian* division of the Dioscurians is the third in point of area, the first in respect to the number and variety of its forms of speech—Avar, Anzukh,

Tshari, Andi, Dido (Unso), Khasi-khumukh, Akush, and Kura, being the names of the different vocabularies representative of its dialects or subdialects. Even if these be reduced to four primary divisions (as Klaproth reduces them), the number of Lesgian forms of speech is remarkable.

7. The next division wants few things more than a pronounceable name; the two current ones being *Tshetshents* and *Mizhdzhedzhi* (*Chechents* and *Mizhjeji*). Let us call it *Tshetsh*. The Tshetsh, Ingush, and Tushi dialects of this division are known to us.

8. The list closes with the *Ossêt* or *Irôn* language, with its two dialects, probably, not very distant from each other.

With this sketch the reader may see his way to Pliny's thirty interpreters, some of which would be required, not so much for the tongues of Caucasus itself, as for those of the opposite coast of the Black Sea, for the Crimea, for the parts (possibly) beyond the Caspian. The mountaineers themselves, however, would require—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| For the Georgian forms of speech (say) | | 2 |
| Circassian | ——— | 3 |
| Lesgian | ——— | 4 |
| Tshetsh | ——— | 2 |
| Irôn (Ossêt) | ——— | 1 |
| Turk | ——— | 1 |
| Armenian | ——— | 1 |
| | | 14 |

I give this calculation more for the sake of fixing the reader's attention on an important feature in Dioscurian Ethnology than for the sake of solving a curious, rather than important, question of classical scholarship.

I give it, too, with the secondary view of giving prominence to the suggested term *Dioscurian*.

The previous division and distribution of the Dioscurian populations into Georgians, Circassians, Lesgians, Mizhdzhedzhi (Tshetsh), and Ossêt (Irôn) is Klaproth's; and I may state, once for all, that nine-tenths of such scientific knowledge as we have about Caucasus are taken from the Asia Polyglotta, the Sprachatlas, and the Travels in Caucasus (*Reise in Kaukasus*) of that author. In several matters of detail he has since been corrected. Upon the whole, however, his works are the basis of all subsequent investigations. The extent to which they have been (or ought to be) modified will be considered hereafter.

The distribution of these numerous Dioscurians over their several localities is difficult or easy, according to distinctness or indistinctness of investigator's view of the physical geography of the parts whereof they are the occupants. Of primary importance in this matter is the direction of the axis of the Caucasian range, and next to this the river-system of the Caucasian drainage.

The axis of the mountains runs from north-west to south-east, from the mouth of the Kuban and the parts opposite the Peninsula of Kertsh in the Crimea, to the Promontory of Baku on the Caspian.

The drainage, therefore, is double; one portion of the rivers falling into the Black Sea, and one into the Caspian.

The Black Sea influents are the Kuban, and the minor rivers Enguri, Rion, and Tshorok, running westward.

The Caspian rivers are the Terek, and (of subordinate importance) the Kuma and the Koisu.

There is, then, the double drainage; and there is, of necessity, the water-shed to match. Here the two great mountains of Elbruz and Kasbeck take prominence—the former dividing the Kuban from the Terek; the latter, the Terek from the Kur.*

Applying these distinctions we find that—

*Circassia* goes with the Kuban; nine-tenths of its feeders being Tsherkes. Then comes the area between the mountains and the Black Sea. This is Circassian so long as its rivers flow from a water-shed common to them and the Kuban—there or thereabouts. Kabardinia, however, lies on the Terek; the upper part of it, of course.

As the axis of the Caucasus runs eastwards (east by south-east) the length of the western, or Black Sea, rivers increases. The drainage of these longer and more southern rivers is *Georgian*. On the side, too, of the Caspian the upper half of the Kur is Georgian. It is the Kur, indeed, with which Georgia chiefly coincides; the Kur, the Rhion, and the Tshorok. Both the Georgian and Circassian areas touch the Euxine; neither one nor the other touching the Caspian.

The *Lesgian* alone does this; coinciding with the drainage of the rivers that flow between the Terek and the Promontory of Baku and empty themselves into that

* A good view of the physical geography of Caucasus is to be found in the fifth volume of the Westminster Review, pp. 480—519.

sea. On the other hand, no portion of the Lesgian area reaches, or even approaches, the Euxine.

The *Tshetsh*, the *Irôn*, and the *Basiano-Karatshi* areas are wholly inland—inland, central, and northern. We must look for them on the water-shed between the Kuban and the Terek, with the great Elbruz as our starting-point.

The *Karatshai* lie to the east of it, and on the drainage of the Kuban; the *Basian* to the west, and on that of the Terek.

East of the Basian, and equidistant between the two seas, lie the *Irôn*. A line drawn from Gori to Yekaterinograd would bisect their country; which is the water-shed between the Kur and the Terek—the water-shed between the Kur and the Terek, and something more.

The upper parts of the southern feeders of the *middle* Terek give us the Tshetsh country.

That the Caucasus is only partially Russian, that the independent Caucasians are brave warriors, that the Georgians are a handsome population, that the Circassians are the same, that they both trade in their good looks, and that there is a hero amongst the western tribes named Shamyl, is understood by even the unlearned portions of the public. And it is little more than this that is known to the special geographer, ethnologist, or politician. The more characteristic parts of the country are inaccessible. Even Georgia is not wholly reduced, for the Suanic country, with parts of Imeretia, still preserves a rude independence. Irônistan (for so I call the Irôn or Ossêt district) has a military road running through it; and along this, Russians, and those whom the

Russians permit, can travel with ease and safety. But the gorges and heights of Kasbek are still dangerous. In Circassia, the Kabardinian portion can be visited, and so can the reduced districts immediately to the south of the Lower Kuban, as well as certain points on the coast. Woe, however, to the traveller who attempts the mountain-strongholds of the still unconquered Abassians. There is perilous travelling here, and there is perilous travelling still greater in Tshetshenia (the Tshetsh or Mizhdzhedzhi country) and amongst the Lesgians. The little that is known of Lesgistan is known from the side of the Caspian, or from the Georgian and Shirvan frontiers.

Besides the insufficient character of our knowledge, there is the fact of Caucasus being but imperfectly Russian, to which it may be added that the most interesting parts are those which are the most independent; so that, strictly speaking, Lesgistan, Tshetshenia, and a great part of Circassia, lie beyond the domain of the ethnologist of the Russian empire. I limit myself, therefore, to the general phenomena of the classification and geographical distribution of the members of the Dioscurian class; superadding to this a short notice of the more important characteristics which, notwithstanding a general similarity of character, differentiate (so to say) the chief divisions and sub-divisions.

The Georgians under Russia are Christian, lettered, and industrial, with a metropolis of the calibre and importance of Tiflis, and a country with a *maximum* amount of land fitted for tillage; but their Christianity is that of the Armenian, and not that of the Greek Church.

It is of long standing, and it brought with it the use of the alphabet. This is Armenian in its immediate, Syrian in its remote, origin—Armenian, but disguised. In the ecclesiastical form the square character of the Armenian letters is preserved; in the ordinary alphabet the angles are all rounded off—and this it is which disguises it. The original government was kingly, *i. e.*, that of a consolidated monarchy as opposed to the feudal organization of Circassia.

The Georgians under Russia are lettered and industrial; less hardy, too, and less brave than the mountaineers. But the Suan are *not* under Russia; and they are unlettered, hardy, and pastoral.

The Georgians under Russia are Christians after the manner of the Armenian Church; but the Lazic branch of the Georgian division is *not* under Russia, and is not Christian. It is Turk and Mahometan—with a different nationality and different traditions.

Less rude and less independent than the Suan, the Mingrelians and Imeretians (some of whom are governed by their own princes) hold an intermediate place to the populations just named and the Kartulinian Georgians of the Middle Kur. The Colchians of old were, probably, members of the Georgian division. On the north-eastern frontier, either the Georgian type becomes modified by the Lesgian, or *vice versâ*. This, at least, is what I infer from the term Grusisch-Caucasisch (Georgio-Caucasian) in Koch's map.

The *Irôn* (*Ossêt*), under Russia, are Christians of recent (very recent) origin; their conversion (such as it is) having come from Russia; and their church (as

such) being Greek. The Russian alphabet has been adapted to the sounds of their language.

The *Circassians*, whether dependent or independent, are Mahometans; their Mahometanism having, in many cases, been superinduced upon a previous Christianity, introduced from Georgia, Armenia, Syria, or Byzantium, in the sixth or seventh century. Their constitution is feudal; the *Vork* being the *nobles*, the *Pshi* the *retainers*. It is they who more especially export their daughters for sale amongst the Turks.

Klaproth separates the *Tshetsh* and *Lesgians*. I throw them both into a single group. They are Mahometans, with a patriarchal rather than a feudal constitution, independent and unreduced. Shamyl is no Circassian, but a Lesgian; the language that gives him to Circassia being inaccurate. The Lesgians and Tshetsh are, too, often called Western Circassians. This they are not. The true Western Circassians are the Kabardinians.

THE ARMENIANS.—From the undoubted Dioscurians, who absolutely occupy Caucasus, I pass to the Armenians, whom I place in the same class, but whose area belongs to the parts south of the mountain-range, rather than to the mountain-range itself.

The Armenian subjects of Russia fall into two divisions. The first includes what may be called the Armenians *in situ*, by which I mean the occupants of such districts as have been won from Persia and Turkey by Russia. These are either indigenous to or old inhabitants of their several localities. They are found, of course, in the frontier provinces; these being on the

south and south-west coasts of the Caspian. The Armenian here is in the same relation to Russia as the Rumanyo of Bessarabia. He is an Armenian on Armenian ground; but he is Russian, because a certain amount of this same Armenian ground has changed masters.

In the second class I place such Armenians as have been removed from the soil of Armenia, and placed on that of Russia as colonists or settlers. These may be anywhere; wherever, however, they are, they are recent occupants, and lie in the midst of a foreign and strange population.

The first may be called the Armenians *in situ;* the others, the Armenians *extra situm.* The localities and number of the latter may be collected from the tables. Erivan and Ganja are the chief localities of the former. The Armenians are Christians of the Armenian church, Mahometan Turkey being the empire from which their area was won.

Russian Armenia, then, coincides chiefly with the Russo-Turk frontier.

THE PERSIANS of the Russian empire, on the other hand, belong, chiefly, to the parts won from Persia, their frontier being the Russo-Persian. They fall into the same divisions as the Armenians; viz., the Persians *in situ*, and the Persians *extra situm.* Shirvan, and the southern coast of the Caspian, give us the Persian area; Shirvan being, more or less, Turk also. Some Kurd populations belong to this branch, as may be seen from either Garzoni's grammar of their language, or any of the ordinary vocabularies.

THE TALISH (described by Fraser as follows) is probably Lesgian in blood, though Persian in language.

"The district of Talish, according to the information I obtained, includes that portion of the mountainous tract extending from the Suffeedrood, or, perhaps, only from a pass a little further west, to the point where it is lost in the plains of Mogham, at Andiṇa Bazar. I know not whether the name of Talish applies originally to the district itself, or to the tribes which occupy it, but it is now used indifferently for both. These various tribes, or clans, are probably descended from one stock; they certainly have the same appearance, as well as the same manners and customs, and the same dispositions. Whatever may have been the nature or number of their subdivisions, they all, but a few years ago, obeyed Mustapha Khan, a chief of so much power and authority, that he had the hardihood to oppose the arms of Aga Mahomed Khan, the late King of Persia, himself.

"The power of that monarch, however, was too great for the Talish chief, who took the resolution of inviting the Russians to his assistance, and gave them occupancy of Lankeroon; promising, at the same time, to yield them obedience as sovereigns of the country. In the year 1812, Mustapha Khan and the Russian garrison, consisting of three hundred men, were driven by the Persians out of Lankeroon, which after this time, was fortified and supplied with a garrison of two battalions of Persian infantry, a company of artillery, with five twelve-pounders, and one thousand five hundred Gheelanee irregular troops.

"This force proved insufficient to protect it from the

efforts of the Russians, who attacked it on the 13th of January, 1813, with a force of two thousand infantry, one thousand Cossacks, and three vessels of war; and who carried it by assault, after sustaining a loss, in killed and wounded, of one thousand two hundred men, among the latter of whom was their brave commander, General Kutlerousky.

"Mustapha Khan continued till his death in possession of Russian Talish, acknowledging a nominal obedience to the authorities of that empire, who, indeed, never demanded more; and he has been succeeded by his seven sons, who have shared between them the whole country, from a little to the westward of Kergonrood all the way to Mogham. The present King of Persia, with a view of weakening the family of Mustapha Khan, distributed the whole of Persian Talish among the principal families that remained, confirming to each such portion of country as it had become possessed of. He also created them khans, by way of increasing their importance, and giving them a motive for repressing the predatory incursions of Mustapha Khan's family. Of these chiefs, the principal are—1st, Mahomed Khan Massaul, who occupies the eastern part of the district, and whose clan is very powerful. 2nd, Ibraham Khan, of whom I know nothing. 3rd, Mahomed Reza Khan, of Kiskar, or Geskar, further to the west, who is more powerful than the two preceding. 4th, Mahomed Khoolee Khan, who lives at the village Poonul, still further to the west. These are all under the authority of the Princes of Gheelan. 6th, Mahomed Khan Asalumeh, whose yeilak is called Leomere, has a powerful clan; but Balla Khan,

of Aghabler, the 7th, whose country extends westward to the Russian boundary, though his family was not originally of great importance, is now considered chief of all. His brother, Meer Goonah Khan, has been joined in authority with him, by Abbas Meerza, to whose government of Azeibijan both these chiefs are attached.

"These tribes, which have several features of character in common with the Lesghais of Dagestan, unite many of the better qualities of highlanders with the barbarity of savages. Their country being more accessible, and their chiefs more under control than those of the Lesghais, they cannot be such systematic robbers, neither do they embark so regularly in the business of taking prisoners for sale or for ransom, which those formidable banditti practise; but property and life are not at all more sacred in their hands, for they are continually marauding among themselves, and plundering their immediate neighbours whenever they can. Murder, I was assured it is an every-day crime with them, and no stranger would be safe for an hour in their country without the protection of their chiefs, or those whom their chiefs must obey.

"These freebooters, however, are brave, and are devoted to their chiefs. They are active and patient of fatigue, but are treacherous, merciless, and rapacious towards all the world beside. I have heard of very few good qualities which they possess, and yet I think they are interesting, from the many points of resemblance in their patriarchal or feudal economy to the highlanders of our own country, as they were in old times. There is amongst these tribes not only the same devoted

attachment of clansmen to their chief, but among that chief's retainers one might discover the same description of attendants—gillies and henchmen—which constituted the followers of a highland laird.

"The sword and the rude firelock of the chief were borne in charge by one young man, while another took care of his cloak, and a third of his pipe. Others, again, were ready to assist his steps, or stand by his horse's head, on occasions of danger or difficulty. Crowds of idle hangers-on stood before the window, or lounged lazily about the doors, awaiting their lord's appearance, and started into motion with the same springing activity whenever he gave the signal for marching.

"But, as the highlands of Scotland are far outdone in height and difficulty by the rugged mountains of Talish, so does the Talish mountaineer surpass the Scottish Highlander in the strength, ease, and agility with which he springs up the longest and most precipitous passes; even the little boys dashing up the steep faces of the hills after the straying cattle, astonished me by the facility with which they moved along the most dangerous places, as if upon the plainest ground; and I remember on a trying occasion, envying the wind and powerful muscles of a mountaineer, who, overtaking me after a much longer journey than I had performed, bounded from stump to stump, and from rock to rock, with the ease of a mountain goat, while I could hardly crawl along as we toiled up the steep ascent.

"The nature of the country, and the active modes of life of these people, have a great effect upon their general appearance. They are for the most part spare, raw-

boned men, of robust though not tall frames, with countenances not unlike the Highlanders of Scotland. Their dress consists of a large loose pair of trowsers, made of coarse grey or dark brown stuff, reaching below the ancles, and generally tied into the charucks or shoes, which are nothing more than a leathern sock drawn round the instep, and tied on by a thong passing many times round the ancles. These are made to fit, or rather to draw very tight, and appear sufficient to guard the foot against the stones, while they ply so easily as to be very pleasant to the wearer, and enable him to move along at a great pace. The only vest they wear is a sort of ulcaluc or long-tailed vest, fitted tight to the body, the skirts of which are stuffed into the trowsers, so that the bulk of the nether man greatly exceeds that of the upper parts. The head is covered by a sheep-skin cap of red or black wool. About the waist these mountaineers wear a leathern girdle from which depends the formidable commeh, or Gheelanee knife, and over their shoulders they carry their taffung, in the use of which they are very expert. The ammunition is carried in numberless rows of loops for cartridges on the breast of his vest and other parts of his person, or in small gourds called cuddoos, hollowed out to serve for powder-horn, &c. In his hand he carries a basket of plaited grass, in which he stows his provision or plunder. Such is the complete costume of a Talish Highlander."*

This is the only description I have seen of this remarkable population.

* "Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces." By T. Fraser.

*Persian Settlements.—The Kuzzilbash.*—In the governments of Astrakhan and Orenburg there are two Persian settlements, of unascertained (but of no very considerable) size. They consist of Persian captives, rescued and ransomed from the Kirghiz. The Turks call the Persians of Persia Proper, Kuzzilbash (Red-heads), and, as the colonies in question are within the Turk area, they may be distinguished as the *Kuzzilbash* colonies.

*The Sarts, or Bokharians.*—A Persian of Bokhara, as opposed to one of Persia Proper, is called a Sart. Of these Sarts there is a colony in the country of the Tobolsk Tartars, in the neighbourhood of Tyumen.

With these Persian Sarts—Persian in language, and Bokharian in origin—ends the list of those populations whose country is either wholly contained within the limits of the Russian empire, or else cuts its frontier, so as partially to belong to it—the Swedes of Finland, the Germans of Courland, Livonia, Esthonia, and the colonies, and the Russians Proper, excepted.

To the Russians Proper the concluding chapter will be devoted. The Germans and Swedes are only named. Their numbers may be got from the tables. The general character of their ethnology is supposed to be known.

The other foreign elements, unattached to any particular portion of their native area, are—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jews— | | |
| Talmudic ..... | 1,054,407 | |
| Karait ..... | 5,725 | 1,060,132 |
| Gypsies ..... | | 48,247 |
| Greeks ..... | | 46,773 |

To these may be added (all in inconsiderable numbers) some Arnauts (Albanians or Skipitar), Indians, and Frenchmen; for all of which the tables give the number—*though only for Russia.*

This should be remembered:—The *statistics* of the Geographical Society take no cognizance of the Grand Duchy of Finland, nor yet of the Kingdom of Poland For these, then, I only give the General Ethnology—not the numerical details.

The following tables give us a short specimen of the chief Dioscurian forms of speech. Upon these I have abstained from enlarging. In more than one work I have stated both what their real affinities are, and what they are *not.* They are *not* with the so-called Indo-European tongues, and they *are* with the so-called mono-syllabic ones, especially those of Tibet and the Western* Himalayas.

(A.)

| ENGLISH. | GEORGIAN. | ARMENIAN. |
|---|---|---|
| *One* | erti | mi |
| *Two* | ori | yergu |
| *Three* | sami | yeryek |
| *Four* | otkhi | tshors |
| *Five* | khuti | hink |
| *Sun* | mse | ariekag |
| *Moon* | mtvare | lusin |
| *Star* | varsklavi | asdeg |
| *Fire* | zezkhli | hur |

* Transactions of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Cambridge, 1845); Varieties of Man; Ethnological Article in Orr's Circle of Sciences. To this list add an elaborate paper of Mr. Hodgson's of Nepaul, in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(A) *continued.*

| ENGLISH. | GEORGIAN. | ARMENIAN. |
|---|---|---|
| *Water* | tskhali | tshur |
| *Tooth* | kbili | adamn |
| *Foot* | pekhi | odn |
| *River* | mdinare | kyed |
| *Mountain* | mta | sar |

(B.)

| ENGLISH. | AVAR. | ANZUKH. | TSHARI. | ANDI. | DIDO. | KHASI-KHUMAKH. | AKUSH. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *One* | zo | zo | hos | se-*v* | zis | za-*ba* | za |
| *Two* | ki-*go* | ki-*go* | ko-*na* | ttshe-*gu* | ki-*no* | ku-*ta* | khui-*al* |
| *Three* | shab-*go* | tav-*go* | khab-*go* | khlyob-*gu* | so-*nno* | sham-*ba.* | ab-*al* |
| *Four* | ukh-*go* | ukh-*go* | ukh-*go* | boo-*gu* | ui-*no* | muk-*ba* | ohv-*al* |
| *Five* | shu-*go* | sho-*gu* | shu-*go* | in-stu-*gu* | se-*nno* | khe-*ta* | khuy-*al* |
| *Sun* | bâk | bâk | bâk | mitli | buk | barkh | beri |
| *Moon* | moots | moots | moots | ports | butsi | bars | baz |
| *Star* | za | zoa | zabi | za | za | zuka | suri |
| *Fire* | za | za | za | za | zi | za | za |
| *Water* | htlim | htlini | khini | tlen | htli | sin | shin |
| *Tooth* | sibi | sibi | sibi | ziul | kizu | kertshi | zuive |
| *Foot* | pog | pog | pog | tshuka | rori | dzhan | kash |
| *River* | hor | or | or | gad-or | chu | aikh | erklo |
| *Mountain* | mehr | mehr | meer | pil | thlad | suntu | dubur |

(C.)

| ENGLISH. | TSHET-SHENTS. | INGUSH. | TUSHI. | TSHERKES. | ABAS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *One* | tsa | tsa | tsa | se | seke |
| *Two* | shi | shi | shi | tu | uk-*ba* |
| *Three* | koe | koe | ko | shi | kh-*pa* |
| *Four* | di | di | eu | ptle | psi-*ba* |
| *Five* | pkhi | phki | pkhi | tkhu | khu-*ba* |
| *Sun* | malkh | malkh | matkh | dgoh | marra |
| *Moon* | but | but | but | masah | mis |
| *Star* | sid | seta | teru | vhagoh | yatsha |
| *Fire* | tse | tse | tse | mapfa | mza |
| *Water* | khi | khii | khi | psi | dzeh |
| *Tooth* | tsargish | tsergish | tserka | dsheh | pits |
| *Foot* | kok | kog | kog | tle | share |
| *River* | malar | * dokha-khi | khi | psi | adzi |
| *Mountain* | lam | lamartsh | kmati | bgi | bukh |

* This=*great water.*

## CHAPTER XXI.

THE RUSSIANS PROPER—GREAT, LITTLE, WHITE, RED—DIFFUSION, ETHNOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL—PANSLAVONISM.

THE Russians Proper now remain to be noticed. As members of the Great Sarmatian Stock, they stand in contrast with all the populations already enumerated, save and except the Poles, the Servians, the Bulgarians, the Lets, and the Lithuanians. As *Slavonic*, rather than *Lithuanic*, Sarmatians, they are contrasted with these last.

To the Servians they are most nearly allied; indeed, if it were not for the displacement effected by the different Non-slavonic populations of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, the most southern members of the Russian division—the Rusniaks, or Ruthenians of Bessarabia, Bukhovinia, and Gallicia—would, probably, graduate into the northern Servians.

Like the Servians, the Russians take their Christianity from Byzantium, and (so having done) belong to the Greek Church. For the same reason, their alphabet is of Greek origin; its accredited history being as follows: In the ninth century, the Byzantine monks, Cyrillus

and Methodius, preached to the Slavonians of the Middle Danube; some of whom were the ancestors of the present Servians; but others, the occupants of certain parts of Transylvania and Hungary, anterior to the Majiar invasion. Some, too, were Bulgarians. I put the statement in this circumlocutory manner, because the exact Slavonic form of speech which the oldest Bible translation and the earliest Slavonic literature represent, is not a matter of absolute certainty; and to call it simply *Servian*, simply *Bulgarian*, or simply *Ruthenian*, might be inaccurate. The alphabet, however, in which it was embodied, is safely, as well as currently, called the Cyrillic, or Cyrillian. It was based (as has been stated) on the Greek, but was modified in its application. In this modification, the sound principle, which the alphabets of Roman origin take such delight in violating, viz., that of coining new letters for such new sounds as demand them, was adopted, and sixteen new symbols were added. A further modification of this Cyrillic alphabet, by Peter the Great, gives us the *modern* Russian alphabet—*i. e.*, the old Slavonic, common to both Servia and Russia, modified. Since Russia herself has taken a part in the propagation of Christianity amongst the tribes in subjection to her, the Ziranian, Permian, Ostiak, and other Ugrian tongues have been reduced to writing—the alphabet being the Russian. The same is the case with the Irôn or Ossêt, so far as it is written at all; and, to a slight extent, with the Circassian. At any rate, though the proper Circassian alphabet is the Turkish, I have before me a Russo-Circassian Lexicon in Russo-Circassian letters. The languages to which,

either the Russian alphabet itself, or an alphabet formed from the Greek, and (as such) akin to it, is applied, are as follows:—

SLAVONIC.—Servian and Bulgarian—Illyrian for the old literature, but not for the new. On the other hand, the Polish, Bohemian, and modern Illyrian (of Dalmatia, &c.), are written with Roman letters.

NON-SLAVONIC.—

*Ugrian.*—Ziranian, Permian, Wotiak, Tsheremis, Tshuvash, Mordvin. The Fin of Finland is written in Roman letters.

*Eskimo.*—The Aleutian of the Aleutian Islands—Unalashka, &c.

*Dioscurian.*—Irôn (Ossêt), Circassian (partially).

*Roman.*—Rumanyo of the Danubian Principalities.

The Russian alphabet indicates that the Christianity of the nation that uses it is Greek. No Romanist or Protestant country does so. Respecting the Bosnians, who are Mahometan, I am unable to say how far the few that write at all follow the letters of the Koran, the Servians, or the Dalmatians. Of the Greek church, generally, the alphabets are all Greek—either Greek direct (or the Greek of Athens), or indirect Greek; indirect Greek meaning Cyrillic, old Illyrian, and Russian—Greek derivatives.

The dialects of the Russian language demand notice from the very fact of their being so unimportant; indeed, the Great Russian finds its proper analogue in the English of the United States. Spread over Central Asia, Siberia, and North-western America, it is spoken with the *minimum* amount of dialectical difference, and the

*minimum* amount of difference between it and the written language. All this indicates the recency of its diffusion, combined with the homogeneous character of the form of speech diffused. At the same time it is not to be expected that with Lithuanic, Ugrian, and Turk frontiers, with portions of its area once Turk, Ugrian, and Lithuanic, there is no change as we proceed from the centre of Muscovy to the circumference. The dialects of Olonets, Susdal, and similar (more or less) frontier localities, have been noticed. There is a notable proportion of Ugrian in both; as there is said to be of Lithuanic in the *White* Russian of Smolensk.

The epithet *white* brings us to a fresh point of ethnology. There are Russians of three kinds—White Russians, Great Russians, and Little Russians.

The White Russians are (as has just been stated) those of the Government of Smolensk, their frontier being Lithuanic, their original political relations Lithuanic, and (as such) some of their differentiating characteristics Lithuanic also. Haxthausen states that they are weaklier in body, and worse-looking in face, than the others.

The Little Russians coincide with the Polish frontier, as it was originally; the Ukraine and the south-west governments being their chief area. They have the credit of being as much better-looking than the majority as the White Russians are worse. They extend into Austria, and in Hungary, Bukhovinia, and Gallicia, are known as Rusniaks (also as Ruthenians); Malorussian is their Muscovite name. The present writer, however, has called them Rusniak and Ruthenian, even when in Russia. A good deal more than I can either confirm or

contradict, has been said about their separate nationality. It lies, I imagine, much within the same limits as that of the English and the Scotch—Kiev (and neither Moscow nor St. Petersburg) being the Malorussian Edinburgh.

The *Great* Russians are the true Muscovites of Novo gorod and Moscow, the reducers of Olonets, Archangel, Siberia, and North-Western America.

NUMBERS (in round numbers and according to Schafarik):—

| | |
|---|---|
| Great Russians ..... | 35,000,000 |
| Little Russians .. ..... | 13,000,000 |
| White Russians ..... | 2,700,000 |
| Total ..... | 50,700,000 |

*Red* Russians are sometimes spoken about. This arises out of a blunder. A portion of Polish (Little) Russia had a city named *Tsherven*: now, *Tsherven* means *Red*. Hence the misnomer.

Smolensk, Mohilev, Minsk, Vitepsk, Grodno, Vilna, and Bialystock are the White Russian; Pultava, Kharkhov, Tshernigov, Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Ekaterinoslav, Kherson, Bessarabia, and Taurida are the Little Russian Governments; the rest being Great Russian.

It is a common statement that the Kosaks are Little, rather than Great, Russians—Malorussians, Rusniaks, or Ruthenians, rather than true Muscovites. Undoubtedly, there is a large amount of Rusniak blood amongst them. To argue, however, from this to the existence of a separate nationality, or a distinction of pedigree, would be unsafe in practice as well as theory. Neither are the most Malorussian of the Kosaks other than Muscovite

in essentials, nor are all the Kosaks in the same category. There is, probably, some Dioscurian blood amongst them; there is undoubtedly some Polish—also some Mongolian (for the Kalmuks and the Kosaks are especially stated to intermarry), and, besides the Mongolian, Polish, and Dioscurian, no trifling amount of Tartar (Turk) elements. The *word* itself is Turk (meaning *mounted-horseman* and *robber*); and certain Turk tribes bear it as a national and native designation, *e. g.*, some of the Kirgiz, or Kirgiz Kasak.

The Dnieper is the oldest Kosak river, and the Ukraine the original Kosak locality; the former of which terms half explains the latter. *Ukraine* means *boundary*, or *March*—so that the Kosaks were the military settlers of the frontier, endowed with certain privileges, and with a peculiar organization appropriate to their functions of *wardens, marchmen, protectors of the boundary, &c.* This character they still maintain, however, far from their original *March*. Their function is to fight, and this function implies the possession of certain rights. It is the violation of these privileges, and the infringement of the independent character of their several organizations, which have evolved certain Kosak discontents, and (occasionally) certain Kosak rebellions. Grievances of this kind, and not any separate substantive nationality, as has been vainly imagined, are to be found amongst them; and, when found, they may be noted, but not overvalued. The general rule as to their military capacity is what we expect *à priori*. It bears a definite ratio to their duties. On the newer frontiers they are hardier than in the older settlements,

and the stronger the resistance of the coterminous populations, the sharper the spear of the opposition frontagers. Thus the Kosaks of the Kuban and Terek (in other words, of the Caucasian frontier) are believed to be more warlike than those of the Don. The other Kosaks are those of the Ural (or Yaik), the Terek, the Irtish, the Tobol, &c.

In the previous sketch of the early history of the Slavonic population, notice was taken of the Russia of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries only; the Russia of the earliest converts to Christianity; the Russia of Olga, Sviatoslaf, and the early Russian kings. The difficulties, too, involved in the name *Russ*, and the uncertainties as to the early occupants of the parts about Novogorod, were indicated. I see nothing distinctly in respect to this northern city—the second of the two points to which we trace the early streams of Muscovite history; indeed, the only facts of which I feel confident, require a very general expression. From Kiev northwards and from Kiev eastwards, ran the lines of Slavonic occupancy; the valley of the Dnieper leading across the water-sheds to those of the Volkhov and the Volga. Hereby, the Ugrian populations were more displaced than the Lithuanic, and, probably, the Lithuanic more than the Turk. Of some of the special Slavonic populations who thus extended themselves, Nestor gives the names. These were the *Polyane*, the *Derevlyane*, the *Dregovitshi*, the *Polotshane;* the *Syevera*, and others. The Desna, the Sula, and the Polota, are the rivers upon which they are more especially located; the present governments of Kiev, Orel, Kaluga, Smolensk (partly),

Novogorod (partly), being the eminently Russian localities. The Poles and Lithuanians pressed upon them on the west; the Pripecz being a Polono-Lithuanic river, rather than a Russian one. As to the southern governments, they were Turk—Khazan and Petsheneg. So was the greater part of the Volga—Khazar for the parts about Kazan, Bulgarian for Astrakhan. The Ugrians, in Nestor's time, still predominated on the Oka and the parts beyond the Valdai hills. There were some Scandinavians in the north; but how they became Slavonized is uncertain.

Volhynia and Podolia were battle-fields between the Russian and the Pole; the valley of Don, a battle-field between the Russian and the Turk. Of the Ugrian struggles in the north, the history is obscure; though such struggles there were. Novogorod was the point from which the line of conquest in this direction originated; Olonets, Archangel, Vologda, and Viatka, the parts reduced.

The Mongol conquest has already been noticed. It was certainly a notable event in Russian history. Nevertheless, I doubt whether its effects have been rightly appreciated, either ethnologically or politically: *ethnologically*, it has, most undoubtedly, been misunderstood. It has been supposed to have stamped such physical and moral features as the Russian may possess in common with the Northern Asiatic upon the Slavonians of the north and east—to have *orientalized* them, so to say. Now, without saying what these features are, we may safely lay them to another account; viz., the original Ugrian basis of the northern

and central areas, and the Turk and Turk-Ugrian basis of the southern. Of much direct Mongol intermixture—Mongol as opposed to Turk—there is no satisfactory evidence.

Upon the *political* effects I speak with less confidence. I do not, however, find that it prevented the encroachment of the Slavonic area upon the Ugrian. This seems to have proceeded in the Mongolian, the Præ-Mongolian, and the Post-Mongolian times equally. The Turk area of the south it probably *did* preserve from diminution. It also favoured the consolidation of the Polish and Lithuanian powers.

In the latter half of the fifteenth century reigned Ivan the Fourth. He it was who began that career of foreign conquest which Peter the Great reduced to a policy. In 1552 and 1554, Kazan and Astrakhan, with their Turk dynasties, and their Turk and Ugrian populations, became Russian. The conquest of the Middle Don followed; a conquest which first carried the Russian frontier towards the Black Sea. The sea, however, had yet to be reached by it. To the east lay the steppes of the present Government of Caucasus; to the west, those of Taurida and the Crimea—both Turk, neither Russian.

The Ural, too, had yet to be crossed. Over the last quarter of the sixteenth and the whole of the seventeenth centuries, we may spread the reduction of Siberia and North-western America. The history of this is the history of so much individual enterprize, rather than that of a nation or a government; indeed, for the earlier portion, and for the conquests as far as the Irtish, it

is the particular history of Yermak and his Kosaks—Yermak, the conqueror of Siberia, one of the hardiest and boldest of that hardy and bold class of adventurers who, Russian, English, French, Spaniard, or Portuguese, have diffused European civilization over almost the whole of the New World, and over so much of the Non-European portion of the Old.

Siberia was Russian anterior to the accession of Peter the Great—Siberia, Tungusia, and Kamskatka. In A. D. 1690, that monarch mounted the throne. The additions that he himself made were but moderate. Fisst in importance was the province of Ingria, upon which his new capital had to be founded. At the accession of Peter, the site of St. Petersburg was a part of Sweden.

Along with Ingria, went Esthonia and Livonia, as well as a part of Finland. Recent as is the reduction of the other parts of the Grand Duchy, Viborg was lost to Sweden as early as 1721. The peace of Nystadt confirmed these accessions—accessions to Russia, losses to Sweden; won by Peter, lost by Charles; German in their original politics, Swedish since the time of Gustavus Adolphus; once, too, Polish, and once independent. It is hard to say how their present nationality comports itself. The Lutheran creed, and the German language, are its chief tangible elements; *i. e.*, in Livonia and Esthonia. In Viborg, the affinities are more definitely Swedish—the language, where it is not Finn, being that of Sweden.

Livonia is both Let and Ugrian; Esthonia, Ugrian only. Peter's was the second of the reigns under which

the great accessions to the political power of Russia were effected; and, perhaps, it may be said that Peter's conquests were the most important of all. The conquests from Sweden gave him St. Petersburg—to go no further; but they did more than this—they made the Grand Duchy of Kurland and certain parts of Lithuania doubly desirable. In the direction of the Black Sea heavy blows were hit also, and Azov was made into a naval arsenal, minitant to the Crimea and Caucasus. Astrakhan, too, was rendered effective against Persia; and the Caspian fleet took form.

Its function was to enable the Czar to interfere in the affairs both of Persia and Caucasus—eventually of Independent Tartary also. In Peter's reign Derbend was already appropriated by Russia.

From 1725 to 1762, was a period of comparative repose; but in '62 began the eminently aggressive reign of Catherine—not the most unscrupulous monarch of her time—not the most unscrupulous, nor yet the most able; for her cotemporary was Frederic the Great of Prussia—the appropriator of Silesia, and the joint mutilator of Poland. For this reign, Kurland requires notice as well as Poland; whilst the Turkish frontier on the south, and the Polono-Turkish relations bring in Austria and the name of Maria Theresa.

Kurland's relations to Poland, in the zenith of its power, were those of a fief to a sovereign state. *Internally*, the Dukedom was elective, but hereditary; hereditary to the line of Kettler.

In this line a member of the last generation married the niece of Peter the Great, Anna, who survived him—

afterwards to become Empress of Russia. We know what this must lead to. There is candidate after candidate for the Dukedom; viz., a surviving brother of the last Duke, a natural son of the King of Poland, Menzikoff of Russian notoriety of power, and Biron more famous than even Menzikoff, who held the Duchy, visited Siberia as an exile, re-held it, and got displaced again. Meanwhile, anarchy increased in Poland; and when this reached its climax, and the times of the second mutilation came on, Kurland transferred itself bodily to Russia by an act of the States.

But the first mutilation of Poland preceded this; the occasion being the anarchy into which the elective character of the Polish constitution plunged the State whenever the Crown of the Republic (strange combination of words) became vacant, the extent to which Stanilaus Poniatovski was a mere Russian *nominee*, the aggressive policy of the King of Prussia, and the desire on the part of Russia to round off her frontier by the possession of Mohilev and Vitebsk. Mohilev, therefore, and Vitepsk went to Russia in A. D. 1772; when Prussia got Prussian Poland; and Austria, Gallicia and Lodomiria. *Pari passu*, with this, war went on in the south; *i. e.*, in what is now the Governments of Kherson and Ekaterinoslav, but what was then a part of the Ottoman Empire; and by the treaty of Kainardzhi, in which these wars ended, the Tartars of the Crimea, the Kuban (or the Government of Caucasus), and the Bessarabian frontier, were made wholly independent of the Porte; that power having previously had the nomination of their Khan. The same independence was effected for the

Danubian Principalities. Hence, the treaty of Kainardzhi is to Turkey what that of Nystad was to Sweden.

A. D. 1783, saw the nominal independence of the Crimea converted into an absolute reduction under Russia, the last Khan being deposed and pensioned off. Nine years later the same became the fate of the Tartars of the Dneister—Kherson becoming Russian even as the Crimea had done before it. The treaty of Yassi determined this.

In 1793 and 1795, Poland was again mutilated.

I use the word mutilation rather than partition. Partition implies that the *whole* of an object is divided amongst a certain number of shareholders; *mutilation*, that a part is cut off; a part that may or may not undergo subsequent separation. Now, up to 1815 Poland was only mutilated.

In the mutilation of 1793 and 1795, the miserable puppet Poniatovski still being the king, Suvarov is the agent of Russia, and Koskiusko the bright name in the history of the resistance. This is sadly ineffectual; and Vilna and Grodno, Minsk, Volhynia, and Podolia, pass from the possession of Poland to that of Russia. The former of these empires has now transferred to the latter the whole of its Lithuanic portion—that, and something more.

With Bessarabia, taken from the Turks in 1821, and the remains of the Kingdom of Poland, which were finally absorbed in 1815, the list of the Russian conquests in Europe draws towards its end. The notice of Finland will complete it. The folly of the last of the legitimate kings of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus IV., allowed Russia a pretext for a war against Sweden, a pretext

which was only too sedulously sought for. Denmark was to make over her fleet to France, and Russia was to take possession of Finland. So ran a secret article in the treaty of Tilsit, the effect of it being a mutilation of Scandinavia, arranged between Napoleon and Alexander, just as the mutilation of Poland had been arranged between Catherine and Frederic. A short campaign did the work so easily that the charge of accessibility to Russian bribes has been laid more than once against the Swedish officers. It is only certain that the nobles were divided, that they were factious, that there was a strong Russian party among them, and that the King (who was afterwards deposed) was unreasonable and impracticable. In the February of 1808, the first Russian divisions crossed the frontier, and in September, 1809, was signed the treaty of Frederickshamn, by which Finland, along with the Aland Isles, became Russian. So did a portion of Lapland, a portion which inconveniently indents the Norwegian territory, and brings the Russian frontier within a few miles of the German Ocean.

The present population of Finland is roughly put at 2,000,000. In a paper of Koeppen's, read before the Academy of St. Petersburg in 1846, the exact numbers are—

| | |
|---|---|
| Fins (pure) | 1,102,068 |
| Swedes | 136,612 |
| Fins and Swedes (mixed) | 129,520 |
| Russians and Fins (mixed) | 43,752 |
| Germans | 363 |
| | 1,412,315 |

The Germans are all in the Province of Viborg; the Russians and Fins lying north and north-west of the Lake Ladoga. They are the Karelians of the Greek Church, and (as such) contrasted with the other populations, who are all Lutheran Protestants.

The Alanders are wholly Swedish, not Fin.

In Asia the chief conquests lie within the present century, the order of annexation being as follows:—1802, Georgia and Mingrelia; 1803, Gandzha; 1805, Sheki and Karabaugh; 1806, Shirvan; 1812, the Talish country; 1828, Erivan; 1829, Akalzik, and parts of the Circassian coast.

Such is a sketch of the *material* progress of Russia, the details of which belong more properly to the civil historian than to the ethnologist. There is, however, another, and a more ideal, point of view which should be taken. The aggregate phenomena which this view gives us are conveniently expressed by a word specially coined for the occasion, and, by this time, tolerably current—more so, perhaps, on the Continent than here. This term is Pan-slavonism.

The fundamental fact upon which Pan-slavonism rests, is the vast extent of area over which the different dialects of the Slavonic language are spoken, combined with the small amount of difference they exhibit, even in their more extreme forms. Let us take it as certain *savans* of Bohemia took it, as a point of literary economy, as a question of international (or, rather, interlingual) copyright. Out of the writings of a literary man, Pan-slavonism arose, and it is by the writings of literary men that it has chiefly been developed. It cannot, however,

be denied that it has a political aspect as well. This varies with the country. In Poland, it means absolute equality between the Pole and Russian, the two separate nationalities being merged under the great generality of Slavonism. In Russia, it means the propagation of the Greek creed, and the displacement of such languages as the Turk and Rumanyo by Russian or Servian. In Servia and Montenegro, it means dislike to all things Ottoman; and in Hungary, the denial of the right of predominance to the Madzhiar minority. It means, in short, different things in different places. On the western side of the Slavonic area, it means the non-recognition of the assumed superiority in literature and science on the part of the Germans, and the development of the Slavonic press, whose domain should be co-extensive with the language. I see no obstacles to this in the alleged inferiority of the Slavonic intellect. Half Germany is more than half Slavonic, if it did but know it. I see no obstacles in the lateness of the movement. Modern German literature itself is but two generations old. In the difference between the eastern and western alphabets, I *do* see a difficulty.

Literary Pan-slavonism began in Bohemia, where the Slavonic civilization is the highest, and where the German contact is the least satisfactory to the Slavonian; Kollar, a Protestant clergyman of Pest, and a Slovak by birth, being its originator. Its importance, or unimportance, may be well measured by the subjoined tables, which shew two things:—

1. The great area of the Slavonic tongue; and—
2. The extent to which its political and literary value

is traversed by the conflicting conditions of nationality and creed.

(A.)

POLITICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE SLAVONIC STOCK.

| | RUSSIA. | AUSTRIA. | PRUSSIA. | TURKEY. | CRACOW. | SAXONY. | TOTAL. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Great Russians | 35,314,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 35,314,000 |
| Little Russians | 10,370,000 | 2,774,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 13,144,000 |
| White Russians | 2,726,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2,726,000 |
| Bulgarians | 80,000 | 7,000 | .. | 3,500,000 | .. | .. | 3,587,000 |
| Servians and Bosnians | 100,000 | 2,594,000 | .. | 2,600,000 | .. | .. | 5,294,000 |
| Croatians | .. | 801,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 801,000 |
| Carinthians | .. | 1,151,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,151,000 |
| Poles | 4,912,000 | 2,341,000 | 1,982,000 | .. | 130,000 | .. | 9,365,000 |
| Tshekhs | .. | 4,370,000 | 44,000 | .. | .. | .. | 4,414,000 |
| Slovaks | .. | 2,753,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2,753,000 |
| Upper Sorabians | .. | .. | 38,000 | .. | .. | 60,000 | 98,000 |
| Lower Sorabians | .. | .. | 44,000 | .. | .. | .. | 44,000 |
| Total | 53,502,000 | 16,791,000 | 2,108,000 | 6,100,000 | 130,000 | 60,000 | 78,691,000 |

(B.)

RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION OF THE SLAVONIC STOCK.

| | GREEK CHURCH. | UNITED GREEK CHURCH. | ROMAN CATHOLIC. | PROTESTANT. | MAHOMETAN. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Great Russians | 35,314,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Little Russians | 10,154,000 | 2,990,000 | .. | .. | .. |
| White Russians | 2,376,000 | .. | 350,000 | .. | .. |
| Bulgarians | 3,287,000 | .. | 50,000 | .. | 250,000 |
| Servians and Bosnians | 2,880,000 | .. | 1,864,000 | .. | 550,000 |
| Croatians | .. | .. | 801,000 | .. | .. |
| Carinthians | .. | .. | 1,138,000 | 13,000 | .. |
| Poles | .. | .. | 8,923,000 | 442,000 | .. |
| Tshekhs | .. | .. | 4,270,000 | 144,000 | .. |
| Slovaks | .. | .. | 1,953,000 | 800,000 | .. |
| Upper Sorabians | .. | .. | 10,000 | 88,000 | .. |
| Lower Sorabians | .. | .. | .. | 44,000 | .. |
| Total | 54,011,000 | 2,990,000 | 19,359,000 | 1,531,000 | 800,000 |

Without either exactly exhibiting the classification which the present author would adopt, or exactly representing the numbers and distribution of the Slavonians

of the present year, these tables give us the *data* upon which the idea of Panslavonian chiefly rests. They are from Schaffarik; the language being the characteristic, and the numbers which they supply being those which have been copied in all (or nearly all) the works which have treated upon the actual condition, or the future destinies, of the great Slavonic stock.

# NUMBERS OF THE NON-RUSSIAN POPULATIONS OF RUSSIA IN EUROPE.

## I.

## UGRIANS.

### *Samoyeds.*

Of Archangel ..... 4,495

### *Laps.*

Of Archangel..... 2,289

### *Voguls.*

Of Perm ..... 872

### *Tshud.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Novogorod ..... | 7,067 |
| Olonets..... | 8,550 |
| | 15,617 |

### *Vod.*

Of St. Petersburg..... 5,148

### *Esthonians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Vitebsk..... | 9,936 |
| Livonia..... | 355,216 |
| Pskov ..... | 8,000 |
| St. Petersburg..... | 7,736 |
| Esthonia ..... | 252,608 |
| | 633,496 |

### *Lief.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Kurland ..... | 2,052 |
| Livonia (Liefland) ..... | 22 |
| | 2 074 |

### *Auramoiset.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Novogorod..... | 31 |
| St. Petersburg ..... | 29,344 |
| | 29,375 |

### *Savakot.*

Of St. Petersburg ..... 42,979

### *Izhor.*

Of St. Petersburg ..... 17,800

### *Karelians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Archangel ..... | 11,228 |
| Novogorod..... | 27,076 |
| Olonets ..... | 43,810 |
| St. Petersburg ..... | 3,660 |
| Tambov ..... | ? |
| Tver ..... | 84,638 |
| Yaroslav..... | 1,283 |
| | 171,695 |

### *Ziranians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Archangel ..... | 6,958 |
| Vologda..... | 64,007 |
| | 70,965 |

### *Permians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Viatka ..... | 4,599 |
| Perm ..... | 47,605 |
| | 52,204 |

### *Votiaks.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Viatka ..... | 181,270 |
| Kazan ..... | 5,500 |
| Orenburg..... | ? |
| Samar ..... | ? |
| | 186,770 |

### *Besermanians.*

Of Viatka ..... 4,545

*Tsheremis.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Viatka | 75,450 |
| Kazan | 71,375 |
| Kostroma | 3,357 |
| Nizhnigorod | 4,330 |
| Orenburg | 2,626 |
| Perm | 7,938 |
| | 165,076 |

*Mordvins.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 48 |
| Kazan | 14,867 |
| Nizhnigorod | 53,382 |
| Orenburg | 5,200 |
| Penza | 106,025 |
| Samar | 74,910 |
| Saratov | 78,010 |
| Simbirsk | 98,968 |
| Tauris | 340 |
| Tambov | 48,491 |
| | 480,241 |

*Tshuvash.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Viatka | 17 |
| Kazan | 300,091 |
| Orenburg | 8,352 |
| Samar | 29,926 |
| Saratov | 6,852 |
| Simbirsk | 84,714 |
| | 429,952 |

## II.

## TURKS.*

*Tartars (so called by the Russians).*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 21,092 |
| Vilna | 1,874 |
| Viatka | 57,944 |
| Grodno | 849 |
| Don Kosaks | 629 |
| Kazan | 308,574 |
| Kovno | 415 |
| Kostroma | 262 |
| Minsk | 2,120 |
| Nizhnigorod | 22,788 |
| Orenburg | 230,080 |
| Penza | 34,684 |
| Perm | 17,271 |
| Podolia | 46 |
| Riazan | 4,725 |
| Samar | 83,927 |
| Saratov | 46,713 |
| Simbirsk | 67,730 |
| Stauropol | 96,037 |
| Tauris | 275,822 |
| Tambov | 10,640 |
| Esthonia | 12 |
| | 1,284,234 |

*Karakalpaks.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 60 |
| Orenberg | ? |
| Perm | ? |
| | 60 |

*Trukhmen (Turcomans).*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 1,600 |
| Stauropol | 5,271 |
| Tauris | 450 |
| | 7,321 |

*Khivans.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 190 |
| Saratov | 25 |
| | 215 |

*Bashkirs.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Viatka | 3,617 |
| Orenburg | 332,358 |
| Perm | 40,746 |
| Samar | 15,351 |
| | 392,072 |

* This includes the Nogays.

*Meshtsheriaks.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Orenburg | 71,578 |
| Penza | ? |
| Perm | 5,783 |
| Saratov | 2,580 |
| | 79,941 |

*Kirgiz.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 82,000 |

## III.

## SARMATIANS.

(LITHUANIC BRANCH.)

*Lithuanians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Vilna | 138,320 |
| Grodno | 2,338 |
| Kovno | 568,794 |
| Kurland | 7,434 |
| | 716,886 |

*Lets.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Vitebsk | 142,497 |
| Kovno | 6,341 |
| Kurland | 401,939 |
| Livonia | 318,872 |
| Pskov | 458 |
| St. Petersburg | 2,000 |
| | 872,107 |

## SARMATIANS.

(SLAVONIC BRANCH.)

*Bulgarians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Bessarabia | 64,736 |
| Tauris | 1,234 |
| Kherson | 11,132 |
| | 77,102 |

*Servians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Bessarabia | 89 |
| Ekaterinoslav | 858 |
| Kherson | 436 |
| | 1,383 |

*Poles.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | ? |
| Bessarabia | 733 |
| Volhynia | 150,000 |
| Grodno | 82,689 |
| Ekaterinoslav | 8,000 |
| Kiev | 100,000 |
| Kovno | ? |
| Kurland | 12,888 |
| Livonia | 3,213 |
| Minsk | ? |
| Mohilev | ? |
| Orenburg | ? |
| Podolia | 100,000 |
| St. Petersburg | 19,149 |
| Saratov | ? |
| Stauropol | ? |
| Kherson | 850 |
| Esthonia | 13 |
| | 477,535 |

## IV.

## RUMANYOS.

(WALLACHIANS AND MOLDAVIANS.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Bessarabia | 406,182 |
| Ekaterinoslav | 9,858 |
| Podolia | 7,429 |
| Kherson | 75,000 |
| | 498.469 |

## V.

## MONGOLS.

KALMUKS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 87,656 |
| Don Kosaks | 20,591 |
| Orenburg | ? |
| Samar | ? |
| Saratov | 692 |
| Stauropol | 10,223 |
| | 119,162 |

## VI.

## GREEKS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 20 |
| Bessarabia | 3,353 |
| Ekaterinoslav | 32,633 |
| Podolia | 50 |
| Tauris | 5,426 |
| Kherson | 3,500 |
| Tshernigov | 1,791 |
| | 46,773 |

## VII.

## ARMENIANS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 5,272 |
| Bessarabia | 2,353 |
| Ekaterinoslav | 14,931 |
| St. Petersburg | 170 |
| Stauropol | 9,000 |
| Tauris | 3,960 |
| Kherson | 1,990 |
| | 37,676 |

## VIII.

## GERMANS.

*Germans Proper (Deutsche).*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Archangel | 450 |
| Astrakhan | 250 |
| Bessarabia | 10,200 |
| Vilna | 765 |
| Vitebsk | 1,300 |
| Vladimir | 100 |
| Vologda | [illegible] |
| Volhynia | [illegible] |
| Voronezh | [illegible] |
| Viatka | [illegible] |
| Grodno | [illegible] |
| Don Kosaks | [illegible] |
| Ekaterinoslav | [illegible] |
| Kazan | [illegible] |
| Kaluga | 132 |
| Kiev | 1,200 |
| Kovno | ? |
| Kostroma | 50 |
| Kurland | 38,593 |
| Kursk | 400 |
| Livonia | 51,340 |
| Minsk | 330 |
| Mohilev | 200 |
| Moskow | 8,000 |
| Nizhnigorod | 204 |
| Novogorod | 1,100 |
| Olonets | 120 |
| Orenburg | 1,034 |
| Orlov | 200 |
| Penza | 250 |
| Perm | 300 |
| Podolia | 1,126 |
| Poltava | 800 |
| Pskov | 557 |
| Riazan | 227 |
| Samar | 46,900 |
| St. Petersburg | 50,800 |
| Saratov | 62,500 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Simbirsk | 158 |
| Smolensk | 229 |
| Stauropol | 1,036 |
| Tauris | 22,324 |
| Tambov | 227 |
| Tver | 200 |
| Tula | 180 |
| Kharkhov | 650 |
| Kherson | 31,700 |
| Tshernigov | 1,500 |
| Esthonia | 10,000 |
| Yaroslav | 100 |
| | 373,000 |

*Swedes.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Kurland | 7 |
| Livonia | 425 |
| St. Petersburg | 6,156 |
| Kherson | 168 |
| Esthonia | 4,714 |
| | 11,470 |

## IX.

## DIOSCURIANS.

*Georgians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 290 |
| Stauropol | 710 |
| | 1,000 |

*Irôn (Osêt).*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Stauropol | 1,650 |

*Circassians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Don Kosaks | 130 |
| Samar | ? |
| Simbirsk | 45? |
| | 175 |

## X.

## PERSIANS.

*Kuzzilbash.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 460 |
| Samar | 186 |
| | 646 |

*Sarts (Bokharians).*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | ? |
| Orenburg | ? |

## XI.

## INDIANS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Astrakhan | 10 |

## XII.

## ALBANIANS.

(ARNAUT, SKIPITAR.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Bessarabia | 1,328 |

## XIII.

## FRENCH.

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Bessarabia | 250 |

## XIV.

## JEWS.

*Talmudic.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Bessarabia | 42,380 |
| Vilna | 69,397 |
| Vitebsk | 47,649 |
| Volhynia | 195,030 |
| Viatka | 58 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Grodno | 99,592 |
| Ekaterinoslav | 6,139 |
| Kiev | 103,326 |
| Kovno | 82,664 |
| Kurland | 23,486 |
| Livonia | 532 |
| Minsk | 88,880 |
| Mohilev | 83,715 |
| Podolia | 150,485 |
| Poltava | 16,140 |
| Tauris | 4,110 |
| Kherson | 22,424 |
| Tshernigov | 18,400 |
| | 1,054,407 |

*Karait.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Vilna | 424 |
| Volhynia | 320 |
| Kovno | 337 |
| Tauris | 4,198 |
| Kherson | 446 |
| | 5,725 |

## XV.

## TSIGANI.

(GIPSIES).

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Archangel | 25 |
| Bessarabia | 18,738 |
| Vilna | 107 |
| Vitebsk | 607 |
| Vladimir | 130 |
| Vologda | 160 |
| Volhynia | 143 |
| Voronezh | 2,586 |
| Viatka | 338 |
| Grodno | 83 |
| Of Don Kosaks | 408 |
| Ekaterinoslav | 425 |
| Kazan | 188 |
| Kaluga | 659 |
| Kiev | 880 |
| Kovno | 169 |
| Kostroma | 264 |
| Kurland | 60 |
| Kursk | 1,200 |
| Livonia | 6 |
| Minsk | 257 |
| Mohilev | 424 |
| Moskow | 1,200 |
| Nizhgorod | 369 |
| Novogorod | 344 |
| Olonets | 142 |
| Orenburg | 85 |
| Orlov | 510 |
| Penza | 120 |
| Perm | 265 |
| Podolia | 464 |
| Poltava | 775 |
| Pskov | 369 |
| Riazan | 595 |
| Samar | 511 |
| St. Petersburg | 254 |
| Saratov | 385 |
| Simbirsk | 171 |
| Smolensk | 808 |
| Stauropol | 42 |
| Tauris | 7,726 |
| Tambov | 147 |
| Tver | 160 |
| Tula | 315 |
| Karkhov | 1,166 |
| Kherson | 2,516 |
| Tshernigov | 458 |
| Yaroslav | 493 |
| | 48,247 |

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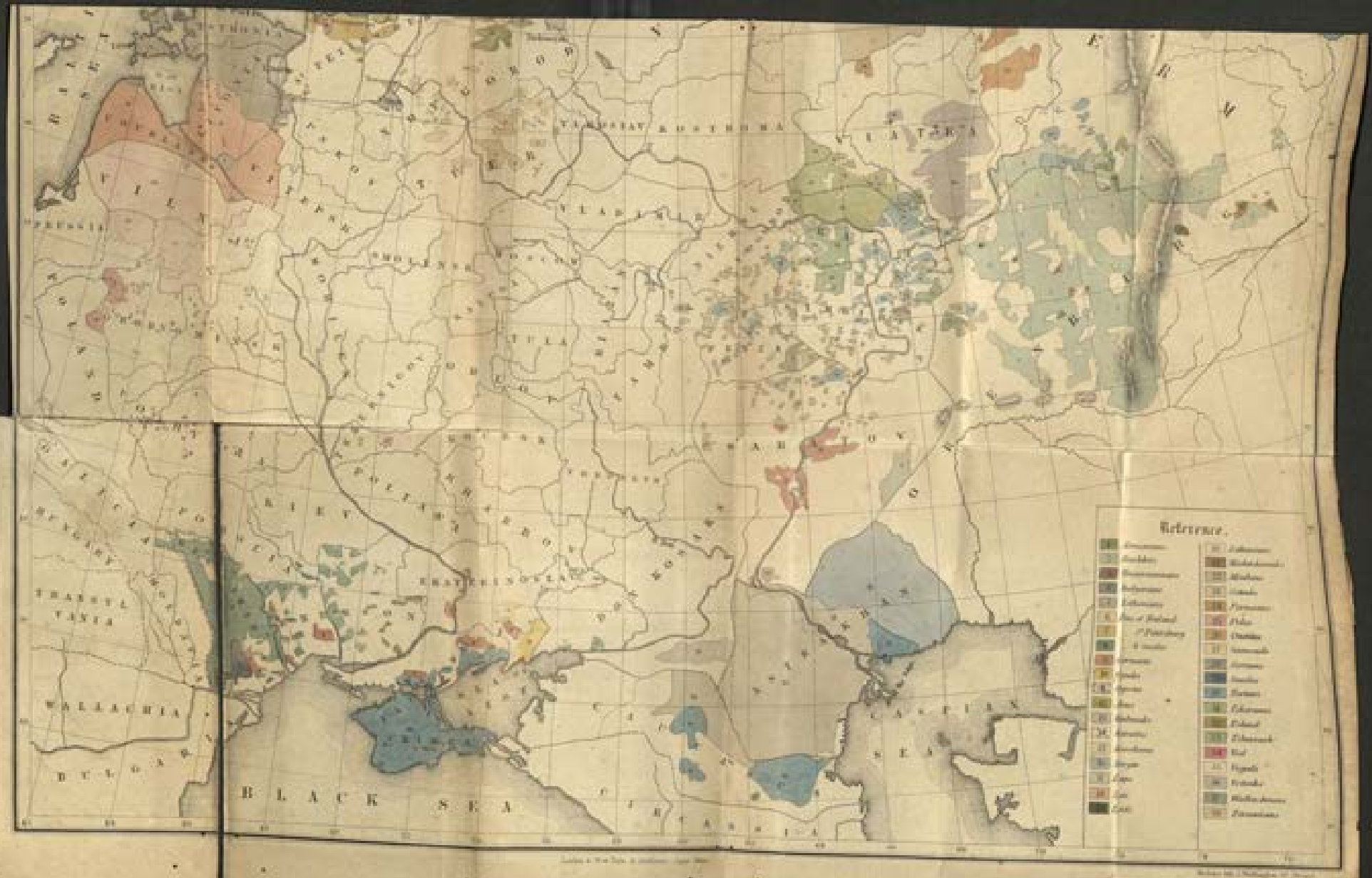
# ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP
OF
# RUSSIA IN EUROPE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